HONI · SOIT · QUI · MAL · Y · PENSE

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/memoirscorrespon02pear

Wellesley

MEMOIRS

AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE MOST NOBLE

RICHARD MARQUESS WELLESLEY,

K.P., K.G., &c.

BY ROBERT RICHARD PEARCE, Esq.,

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1846.

C. K. OGDEN

MEMOIRS

AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE MOST NOBLE

RICHARD MARQUESS WELLESLEY,

K.P.; K.G.; D.C.L.

SUCCESSIVELY GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF INDIA; BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN SPAIN; SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS; AND LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

COMPRISING NUMEROUS LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

By ROBERT ROUIERE PEARCE, Esq.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1846.

LONDON :
Printed by S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, and Fley,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

DA
536
W3C4
V.2

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA BARBARA

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

The Governor-General meditates the Occupation of the Portuguese Settlement of Goa.—Geographical Position of Goa.—Its Importance to the French after the Loss of Mahe.—Designs of Tippoo Sultaun upon the Portuguese Territory.—Marquess Wellesley opens Communications with the Governor of Goa.—Occupation of the Place by the British.—Description of the Old and New City of Goa, or Panjim.—Letters of Earl of Mornington to the Viceroy.—Sir Alured Clarke to his Lordship, respecting Goa.—Earl of Mornington to Joshua Uhthoff, Esq., British Envoy—to Col. Sir William Clarke.—Marquess Wellesley to Joshua Uhthoff, Esq.—General Wellesley to the Envoy at Goa.—The Governor-General sends a Public Embassy to Persia.—Negotiations.—Treaty concluded by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm.—Communications with the Imaum of Muscat.—Benefits expected therefrom.—Secret Inclinations of the Imaum.—Private Letter of Lord Clive to Marquess Wellesley, communicating the fact that the Imaum of Muscat had sent an Embassy for Arms, Ammunition, and Military Stores, to the French at the Mauritius 1

CHAPTER II.

Negotiations with the Nabob of Arcot.—Marquess Wellesley proposes a new Treaty.—Disorders in the Government of the Carnatic.—Position of the Nabob in reference to the East India Company.—The Nabob refuses to alter the Treaty of 1792.—The Conclusion of the War in Mysore.—Presents the Assumption of the

PAGE

Government of the Carnatic, under the Treaty of 1792.—Papers found in Seringapatam, criminating the Nabob, and proving his Enmity to the English.—Examination of Mr. Mill's suggestion, that the documents were forged for a Fraudulent Purpose.—Their Genuineness.—British Officers and Gentlemen not such mere creatures of Government as to consent to be the Instruments of Infamous Transactions.—Summary of the Charges against the Nabob.—Lord Wellesley delays Proceedings till he had submitted the Correspondence and whole case to the Home Authorities.—Their Opinion.—Proceedings deferred, in consequence of the Illness of the Nabob.—His Death.—Lord Clive's Negotiations with Ali Hussain, his Son.—His Fickleness and Obstinacy against Lord Clive's Plans.—Lord Clive supports the Pretensions of Azeem, another Member of the Family.—Azeem placed on the Throne.—Treaty with the British.—Arrival of an Imposing French Force at Pondicherry after the Peace of Amiens 14

CHAPTER III.

The Red Sea Expedition.—Foresight and Energy of the Marquess Wellesley.—For Seven Months without Intelligence from England.—Sends a Force to annoy the French in Egypt.—Writes to Sir Sydney Smith.—Aden.—Opinion against it.—Letter from Admiral Blankett respecting the Sheriffe of Mecca.—Blankett's Death.—Marquess Wellesley's views respecting the Red Sea.—Expedition to Batavia.—Colonel Wellesley declines Command.—Colonel Champagné appointed.—Unfavourable News from Egypt.—Batavian Expedition countermanded.—Letters to Sir Sydney Smith.—No Intelligence from Europe.—Preparations against Batavia resumed.—Battle of Marengo.—Marquess Wellesley alters his Plans.—Assembles a Force at Trincomalé.—Colonel Wellesley appointed to the Command.—Letter to Colonel Champagné.—Urgent Letters to Hon. Frederick North, and to Lord Clive.—Colonel Wellesley's energetic Preparations.—Letter of Marquess Wellesley to Colonel (afterwards Marshal) Beresford.—Expedition against the Isle of France.—Colonel Wellesley to Command.—Admiral Rainier refuses to coöperate.—The Admiral's Secret Letter.—Ships captured by the French.—No Advices from England.—Resolves to resume the Batavian Expedition and demand the Assistance of Admiral Sir Roger Curtis against the Mauritius.—General Baird appointed to the chief Command.—Letter of Marquess Wellesley to the Governor of Batavia.—Hook's Account of the Appointment of General Baird, and of his stormy Conversation with Marquess Wellesley.—Remarks on Hook's Observation, that the Claims of General Baird and Colonel Wellesley

PAGE

came into collision.—The Intentions of the Governor-General shown by his private Letters.—Letter to General Baird.—Letter of Mr. Dundas, requesting coöperation against the French in Egypt.—Lord Wellesley's Alacrity.—Orders Baird and Colonel Wellesley to the Red Sea.—Colonel Wellesley sails with the Troops to Bombay without Orders.—Letter of Lord Wellesley to Admiral Rainier.—Colonel Wellesley's Feelings of Disappointment on General Baird's Appointment.—The Colonel is seized with a Fever at Bombay.—Unable to proceed with the Expedition.—Letter to General Baird.—Important Letter of Marquess Wellesley reviewing the foregoing Circumstances.—Letter to Mr. Dundas.—Observations on the British Expedition to Egypt and Expulsion of the French . . 24

CHAPTER IV.

Letter of Lord Auckland to Marquess Wellesley, on the Union with Ireland and other foreign and domestic Events.—Lord Wellesley's Son at Eton.—Lord Auckland's Daughter married to Lord Francis Osborne.—Letter from Mr. Dundas, respecting the Union Flag.—Letter from Lord Clive.—Visit of Lady Clive and her Daughters to Mysore.—Polite Attentions of Colonel Wellesley.—Beauty of Bangalore.—Picturesque Falls of the River Cavery.—Gossip of the Durbar at Madras.—Biographical Note respecting Lord Clive, (afterwards Earl Powis.)—Note of Lord Clive with one of Tippoo's Standards.—Letter respecting the Investigation into the Nabob of Arcot's Conduct.—Letter of Sir Alured Clarke, respecting General Lake and Sir James Craig.—Batta, &c.—Lord Mornington's Letter to S. Manesty, Esq., at Bussorah, respecting the Persian Embassy, foreign Newspapers, &c.—Letter to Mr. Dundas.—General Martin.—Captain Malcolm.—Hon. Robert Brooke.—Colonel Wellesley's brilliant Services against Doondiah Waugh.—Letter to General Craig 97

CHAPTER V.

The Rupture between England and Denmark.—Geographical Position of the Danish Settlements in India.—Intrigues therein against the British.—Action between a British cruiser, and the Danish frigate *Freya*.—Lord Wellesley's Instructions to Lord Clive, on receiving news of that event.—Tranquebar and Serampore occupied by the English.—The Right of Search in time of war agreeable to the Law of Nations.—Sir William Scott's Decisions on the subject.—Lucid Statement of the Law of Nations on the

PAGE

point of Kent, the American Jurist.—Conclusion of the Discussions between England and Denmark.—Tranquebar and Serampore restored to the Danes.—Letters of Lord Hobart, and the Court of Directors.—Note from Lord Wellesley to the Danish Governor, respecting the Newspapers at Calcutta. 114

CHAPTER VI.

Lord Wellesley's Policy respecting Oude.—Violent Censures upon it.—Remarks on the Principles asserted by Mr. Mill, respecting the Native Princes.—England an Ascendent Power in India.—British Supremacy to be maintained in virtue of European Civilization, and Anglo-Saxon Energy.—The Personal "Rights" of Asiatic Dynasties, independent of the Feelings or Interest of their Subjects.—Frequently based on Usurpation and Murder.—Right of the British Government to interfere where the Disorders of neighbouring States render the British Possessions insecure.—Negotiations with the Nabob Vizier.—His Vacillation and Duplicity.—Frightful State of Oude.—Disorganized State of his Army.—The Advance of Zemaun Shah.—Note of Zemaun Shah's Death.—Massacre of Vizier Ali.—Capture of that royal Assassin.—Mr. Henry Wellesley proceeds to Lucknow—Negotiates a Treaty with the Vizier.—Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Oude.—Orders of the Directors to dismiss him.—The Board of Control interferes.—Biographical Note respecting Mr. Henry Wellesley (now Lord Cowley).—Journal of the Marquess Wellesley's Journey to the Upper Provinces.—His Lordship's Return.—Charges relative to Oude preferred by Mr. Paull.—Remarks upon them.—Vote of Thanks from the House of Commons to Marquess Wellesley.—Note respecting a Letter written by Mr. Paull, while in Oude, to the Governor-General 130

CHAPTER VII.

Honours ascribed to the Founders of Universities and Colleges.—The British Seminaries.—The Foundation of Fort William College, one of the most memorable Events in the Marquess Wellesley's Administration.—Design in founding the College.—No Course of Training or Study at that time for the Civil and Military Servants of the Company.—The Necessity of Education for these Public Servants demonstrated in Notes by Lord Wellesley.—Officers and Professors of the College.—Regulations.—Note of Mr.

PAGE

Wilberforce to Mr. Pitt respecting the College.—Orders of the Court of Directors for the Abolition of the Institution.—Lord Wellesley's deep Disappointment.—Motives of the Directors.—Importance of previous Training for Cadets destined for the Company's Service.—Letter of Captain Robertson of the Engineers, to the Rev. Claudius Buchanan.—Reflections on the Site for a College.—Letter of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, announcing that the College would be kept up to the end of 1803.—Appeal and Expostulation of Marquess Wellesley to the Directors.—Private Letter to David Scott, Esq.—Letter respecting the College, &c., to Lord Dartmouth.—Adverse Opinion of Lord Teignmouth.—His Eulogium on the Marquess Wellesley's Government.—Opinion of Dr. Carey, the distinguished Missionary, on Fort William College.—Panegyric in the Bengalee Language on Marquess Wellesley.—Character of Carey.—Lord Wellesley expresses his indignant Feelings at the Conduct of the Directors respecting the College, in a Note to Lord Castlereagh.—Haileybury College.—Regulations, &c.—Benefits arising from it.—Impetus to Education in India 184

CHAPTER VIII.

Intelligence of the Resignation of the Pitt Ministry reaches India.—Its Effects.—Letter from Lord Clive to Marquess Wellesley, enclosing Extracts from the *Morning Post*, &c.—Letters of Lady Jane Dundas to Marquess Wellesley.—The New Cabinet.—Mr. Addington a warm Supporter of Lord Wellesley's Policy.—Letter of Mr. Macpherson, ex-Governor-General of India.—Letter of Mr. Addington to Marquess Wellesley.—Lord Wellesley's Distribution of Patronage.—Guided solely by Merit and Capacity.—Results of his Mode of selecting Public Servants.—Uninfluenced by the Recommendations of Powerful Individuals.—Applications from Persons of Rank and Influence preserved in the Wellesley MSS.—Letters of Mr. Dundas, Mr. George Rose, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Fife, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Lady Amelia Campbell, &c.—Letters from Mr. * * * * to Lord Wellesley, respecting his Son's Marriage in India 227

CHAPTER IX.

Peace of Amiens.—A mere Armistice.—Injurious Provisions of the Treaty.—Surrender of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, &c.—Restitution to the French of the Settlements conquered in India.—Vacillation of the Ministers.—Series of Letters from Lord Hobart

PAGE
to Marquess Wellesley, from the Commencement of Negotiations with France to the Suspension of Hostilities.—Letter of Charles Mills, Esq., John Roberts, Esq.,—from Mr. W. Elliot, of Trim, Ireland.—Letter to General Fox respecting the Indian Army in Egypt.—From the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Rainier—Arrival of a French Squadron at Pondicherry.—Lord Clive's Answer to the French Commander.—Marquess Wellesley's Resolution not to surrender the Place until he received further Orders.—Observations in Parliament on the Peace of Amiens.—Letters from Lord Hobart, urging the Marquess Wellesley to re-take the French Possessions in India.—The King's Message to Parliament on the Renewal of the War.—Remarks on the Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Ceylon 249

CHAPTER X.

New Government House in Calcutta.—Magnificent Fête at its Opening in Honour of the Peace.—Description of the Scene, the Fire-works, Illuminations, Ball-room, Supper, &c.—Splendid Decorations.—Exhibition of Trophies.—Public Honours to our Naval and Military Heroes.—Viscount Valentia's Description of the Ball.—Eight Hundred Persons present.—The Governor-General's Country Residence at Barrackpore.—Lord Wellesley's Style of Living in the East.—Letter from Lady Russell, requesting his Lordship's Presence at a Pic-Nic.—Gaieties of Calcutta and its Neighbourhood.—Pic-Nic Societies.—Description of a Festivity, at which Lord Wellesley was present 273

CHAPTER XI.

Observations on the Diffusion of Christianity.—The College of Fort William an Agent in the Evangelization of Asia.—Obstacles to Truth in India.—Success of the Christian Faith on its first Promulgation.—Bishop Jeremy Taylor quoted.—Coleridge's Panegyric on him.—Christianity in India nearly obliterated by the Mohammedan Conquest and Irruptions of the Mongols.—Native Christians found in India by the Portuguese.—Gibbon's Description of them.—Testimonials of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan to the Utility of Fort William College, in connection with the Spread of the Gospel.—Eight Versions of the Sacred Scriptures translated under Marquess Wellesley's Auspices in the College.—Upwards of One Hundred learned Natives of India, Persia, and Arabia, within its Walls, studying European Literature and Philosophy.—Letter of Mr. Wilberforce to Marquess Wellesley, bearing Tes-

PAGE

timony to his Lordship's successful Efforts to Educate the Native Mind in India, and asking his Coöperation.—The Governor-General's Success in Suppressing the Sacrifice of Children and other human Victims at Sangor.—Ordains it to be Murder.—Proposes Questions to the Pundits respecting the burning of Widows alive. —Orders a Report to be made of the Numbers burnt in six months within thirty miles of Calcutta.—Details and Description of the horrid Ceremony. — Seventy Thousand Widows burnt in British India, from 1756 to 1829.— Marquess Wellesley checks the Practice, and contemplates its Abolition. — Plans interrupted by his Return to England, and Destruction of Fort William College. —Lord W. Bentinck and Council finally suppress *Suttees* . . 288

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Wellesley tenders the Resignation of the Office of Governor-General, January, 1802, and in October, 1802, and again in 1803.—Is requested by his Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors to remain in India till the Settlement of the Affairs of the Mahratta States.—Consents to remain.—Dissatisfaction at the Conduct of the Directors.—Note, Censures on the Directors of 1802-5 not directed against the Company as a Corporation.—The East India Company now the Vindicators of Lord Wellesley's Fame.—Honourable Conduct of the present and late Directors in repairing the Injustice of their Predecessors.—The Mahratta War. — Military Triumphs at Delhi, Laswaree, Assaye, and Arghaum. — Stuart, Gen. Wellesley, Lake. — Sketch of the Political Considerations which induced the Marquess Wellesley to direct Hostilities.—Scindiah, the Peishwah, Holkar, &c.—Plenary Powers entrusted to General Wellesley and General Stuart.—Treaty of Bassein.—Destruction of the French Force of Scindiah, amounting to 16,000 men, under General Perron.—The Power of Holkar broken. —Private Letter from Colonel M. Symes, from London, to Marquess Wellesley, on the State of Parties and the Conduct of the Government respecting the Mahratta War.—Letters from Marquess Wellesley with reference to Lord Clive, Hon. H. Wellesley, &c. . 309

CHAPTER XIII.

Case submitted to Counsel on the Legality of the Appointment of General Wellesley and General Stuart as Plenipotentiaries in 1803.—Historical Discussion on the Office, Powers, and Duties of Governor-General of India.—Opinions of Mr. Ryder and Mr. Adam, as to the Illegality of the Appointment.—Court of Directors censure

PAGE
Lord Wellesley's Conduct. — The Board of Control revise the Court's Orders, and state their Opinions on Lord Wellesley's Absence from Council 343

CHAPTER XIV.

Letters from Marquess Wellesley to Lord Castlereagh, denouncing the Directors.—To Earl Camden, K. G., on the Change of Ministers.—To Earl Camden, on the State of the Army in India.—Earl Camden to Marquess Wellesley, on the War with Spain, and ordering the Issue of Letters of Marque. — Marquess Wellesley to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, respecting General Sir Arthur Wellesley.—Letter to Lord Castlereagh, on the Proposition to send Negro Regiments to India. — Observations of Lord Wellesley on the Sepoy Force.—Lord Wellesley's Note to Lord Castlereagh, on the Mahratta War.—To Lord Castlereagh, expressing his Conviction that the East India Company must be perpetuated to maintain British Power in the East.—Lord Wellesley to Earl Camden, regarding the Possessions of Spain.—To Lord Castlereagh, relative to his Departure from India.—Recommends the Appointment of Sir George Barlow.—Lord Wellesley to the Governor of St. Helena, on his Return to Europe.—Dreadful Severity of the Weather in Calcutta, June, 1805.—Letter from Sir James Mackintosh to Marquess Wellesley, respecting the Chair of Ethics and Jurisprudence in Fort William College, and a Project for a New History of India. —Biographical Notice of Sir James Mackintosh 360

CHAPTER XV.

Return of Marquess Wellesley to England, January, 1806.—Illness of Mr. Pitt.—Unpopularity of the Administration.— Mr. Pitt writes to Lord Wellesley asking him to meet him at Putney Hill.—Memoranda of Mr. Wilberforce, showing the close Intimacy that had subsisted between the Earl of Mornington and Mr. Pitt. —Anecdote respecting Lord Wellesley's Last Visit to his Friend. —Remarks on the Public Character of Mr. Pitt.—Letter of Marquess Wellesley to Mr. Wilberforce on this Subject. — Mr. Pitt's Private Life misunderstood, and grossly misrepresented. — The Popular Ideas respecting Mr. Pitt's Character.—Wraxall's Statements examined.—Letters of Lady Jane Dundas and Duchess of Gordon quoted.—Letter of Lady Melville describing Pitt's Farming. —Authorities in support of her Ladyship's Letter.—Lady Hester Stanhope and Mr. Wilberforce.—Pitt proved to be a most Amiable and Virtuous Man in Private Life.—Essay on the Character of Pitt

PAGE

by the Marquess Wellesley.—Observations of John Gifford, Esq., in his "Life of Pitt" respecting Mr. Pitt's Opinion of Lord Wellesley.—Letter from India respecting a Pipe of Madeira sent by Lord Wellesley from Calcutta to Mr. Pitt.—Doubtful whether the Minister received it.—Lady Hester Stanhope's Assertions respecting Mr. Pitt's Religious Feelings.—Opposite Testimony of Marquess Wellesley and Mr. Wilberforce.—Observations on this Point. 385

CHAPTER XVI.

Lord Hawkesbury declines to form a Ministry.—Grenville and Fox's Administration.—King George III. quarrels with his Ministers.—The Portland Administration.—The King invites the Marquess Wellesley to join the Cabinet.—Lord Wellesley declines his Majesty's offer.—The Expedition to Copenhagen.—Seizure of the Danish Fleet while Denmark was at Peace with England.—The Justice and Lawfulness of the Proceeding questioned.—Elaborate Defence of the Policy of the Expedition made by the Marquess Wellesley in the House of Lords 408

CHAPTER XVII.

Articles of Charges of High Crimes and Misdemeanours preferred by Mr. Paull against the Marquess Wellesley in Parliament.—Form and Substance of the Charges.—Their Allegations examined.—In consequence of the Death of Mr. Paull, Lord Folkstone moves a Series of Resolutions in the House of Commons as the Ground-work of an Impeachment.—Rejected by the House.—Sir John Anstruther, late Chief-Justice of Bengal, moves a Vote of Approval of the Conduct of Lord Wellesley, which was carried.—Sir Thomas Turton brings forward the Carnatic Question, and charges the Marquess Wellesley with having connived at Assassination.—Sir Thomas Turton's Resolutions indignantly Negatived by the House.—The Doab and Furruckabad Charges fall to the ground, and the Question is never again agitated in Parliament.—Letter from the Marquess Wellesley to Mr. Wilberforce, in which Allusion is made to Mr. Paull's Charges. 428

APPENDIX.

1.—Indian Army employed in Egypt under General Baird . 445
2.—Territorial Acquisitions of the Honourable East India Company 446
3.—Haileybury College 447
4.—Order in Council, prohibiting trade to be carried on between Port and Port of Countries under the Dominion or Usurped Control of France and her Allies 450
5.—Order in Council, declaring the Dominions of his Majesty's Enemies, and of Countries under their control, in a state of blockade, under the exceptions specified in the said Order . 452
6.—French Commercial Decree, signed "Napoleon," and dated at Milan, November 23rd, 1807. 457
7.—Decree against English Commerce, dated at Milan, December 17th, 1807, and signed by the Emperor Napoleon; together with a Supplement by the French Minister of Marine . 458

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

CHAPTER I.

The Governor-General meditates the Occupation of the Portuguese Settlement of Goa.—Geographical Position of Goa.—Its Importance to the French after the Loss of Mahe.—Designs of Tippoo Sultaun upon the Portuguese Territory.—Marquess Wellesley opens Communications with the Governor of Goa.—Occupation of the Place by the British.—Description of the Old and New City of Goa, or Panjim.—Letters of Earl of Mornington to the Viceroy.—Sir Alured Clarke to his Lordship, respecting Goa.—Earl of Mornington to Joshua Uhthoff, Esq. British Envoy—to Col. Sir William Clarke.—Marquess Wellesley to Joshua Uhthoff, Esq.—General Wellesley to the Envoy at Goa.—The Governor-General sends a Public Embassy to Persia.—Negotiations.—Treaty concluded by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm. Communications with the Imaum of Muscat—Benefits expected therefrom.—Secret Inclinations of the Imaum.—Private Letter of Lord Clive to Marquess Wellesley, communicating the fact that the Imaum of Muscat had sent an Embassy for Arms, Ammunition, and Military Stores, to the French at the Mauritius.

As early as the month of July, 1798, the Governor-General took into his consideration the propriety of garrisoning the Portuguese settlement of Goa with British troops. Goa is situated on the western

coast of India, in the province of Bejapore, on an island formed by the river Mandova, in 15° 30′ N. lat., and 73° 58′ E. long. Its vicinity to Bombay rendered it a most desirable station to the enemy, and the feeble resources of the Portuguese Government in India, seemed to invite the aggressions of the French, who had severely felt the loss of the port of Mahe. In order to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the safety of Goa, and prevent a place of so much importance from falling into hostile hands, His Excellency the Governor-General, after the conclusion of the war in Mysore, opened communications with the Portuguese functionary administering the affairs of the settlement, and proposed to him an arrangement for introducing an English garrison into Goa.

The correspondence between Tippoo Sultaun and the French, discovered in the palace of Seringapatam, revealed the designs of those parties with reference to the Portuguese territories in India.*

In the month of October, 1799, the Governor-General writes to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors:—"I have great satisfaction in informing you that, in consequence of a negotiation which I had opened with the Government of Goa, a detachment of British troops consisting of about eleven hundred rank and file, (furnished by H. M. 75th, 77th, and 84th regiments,) under the command of Colonel Sir William Clarke was admitted into that place on the 7th of September, with every demonstration on the part of His Excellency the Governor and

* See Appendix, vol. i.

Captain-General, of the most perfect cordiality, and the most distinguished attention." It was agreed that the question respecting the payment of the British troops, employed in the defence of Goa,* should be adjusted by the respective Governments of Great Britain and Portugal in Europe. The annexed letters have reference to this politic precautionary arrangement:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON FRANCISCO ANTONIO DA VIEGA CABRAL, VICEROY OF GOA, ETC.

"Fort William, 22nd Oct., 1798

"SIR,

"I return Your Excellency many thanks for the letter dated the 20th of August, which you have done me the honour to address to me, and I am highly gratified by the favourable opinion which Your Excellency is pleased to entertain of me.

"Your Excellency may be assured that I shall omit no opportunity of strengthening the bonds of friendship and alliance so happily subsisting between

* The ancient city of Goa, once a place of great magnificence, containing numerous elegant dwellings, churches, and monasteries, is now almost entirely deserted; a few monks alone reside there. The new town, called *Panjim*, stands five miles nearer the sea than the old city. It is described as a handsome and well-built place, with about twenty thousand inhabitants: a mixed race, the descendants of European, Portuguese and Indian women. The Roman Catholic religion prevails; but its rites are mixed with various oriental forms and customs, derived from the Pagan worship. The language of the people is a compound, made up of the Portuguese, Canara, and Mahratta tongues. The purchase of Goa from the Portuguese Government has often been suggested; whatever be its commercial value in times of peace, it is quite obvious that it will always be necessary for us to occupy Goa in the event of war.

the Courts of Great Britain and Portugal, and it will afford me sincere satisfaction to have it in my power to render my services acceptable to your Excellency.

"I am &c. MORNINGTON."

TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, K.P., ETC.

(Private.) "October 9th, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am extremely obliged and gratified by your communication to Mr. Uhthoff's letter, and congratulate you most sincerely on the success of your negotiation with the Governor of Goa, as that place was certainly in a very defenceless state, and would have exposed our possessions to much danger if the French had attacked it. Under *our auspices* I think it will be safe, and I have little doubt but the prudence of Sir William Clarke will ensure cordiality between our troops and the European government, which is a matter of great importance.

"I have the honour to return Mr. Uhthoff's letter, and remain, my dear Lord, most faithfully yours,

"ALURED CLARKE."

By Express.

TO JOSHUA UHTHOFF, ESQ., ENVOY AT GOA.

(Private.) "Fort William, 15th Oct., 1799.

"SIR,

"I have received your several letters of the dates noted in the margin.

"The favourable issue of your negotiation with the Government of Goa has afforded me the utmost satisfaction.

"Your conduct in the management of this important transaction entitles you to my warmest approbation; and amply justifies my confidence in your zeal, prudence, and ability.

"I highly approve of your determination to avail yourself, in pursuance of my former orders, of every favourable opportunity of effecting an augmentation of our detachment at Goa; I also approve of your suggestion to Major-General Hartley, founded on those orders. I shall dispatch correspondent instructions without delay to that officer.

"I enclose under a flying seal, for your perusal, my answer to the letter of the Governor of Goa, transmitted with your letter of the 12th of September.

"I am, &c., MORNINGTON."

TO COLONEL SIR WILLIAM CLARKE.

"Fort William, Dec., 1799.

"SIR,

"The very favourable testimonies borne to your conduct in your present command both by his Excellency the Governor of Goa, and by Mr. Uhthoff, the Honourable Company's Envoy at Goa, have afforded me great satisfaction, and entitle you to my particular approbation and thanks.

"I rely confidently on your continuing to observe the same prudent and conciliatory conduct which

has already proved so satisfactory to the Government of Goa, and I am persuaded that you will enforce the observance of the same conduct among all those subject to your commands.

"I am, &c., MORNINGTON."

TO JOSHUA UHTHOFF ESQ., ENVOY AT GOA.

"Fort William, Oct. 10, 1800.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to receive your letter, dated the 5th of August, 1800, communicating to me your desire to be permitted to resign your present station of Envoy to the Government of Goa, and to proceed to Europe in one of the ships of the ensuing season.

"While I express my acquiescence in the application which the state of your private affairs has induced you to make, I cannot, in justice to you, accept your resignation without declaring my entire satisfaction in the zeal, prudence, and ability with which you have constantly discharged the important duties of your mission.

"I shall take an early occasion to submit to the Honourable the Court of Directors my sense of your sevices and merits.

"I have thought it proper to appoint Sir William Clarke, the commanding officer of the British troops at Goa, to succeed you as Envoy at that place. You will therefore be pleased, on your departure from Goa, to deliver over charge of your office to Sir William Clarke, presenting at the same time to the

Governor-General of Goa the enclosed letter from me, announcing to his Excellency the appointment of Sir William Clarke to succeed you in your character of Envoy from the British Government to the Government of Goa.*

"I shall transmit a copy of this letter to the Honourable Mr. Duncan, for the information of the Governor in Council of Bombay.

"I am, Sir, &c., WELLESLEY."

In order to afford an effectual check to the designs of Zemaun Shah, and counteract the intrigues of the French in Persia, the Governor-General determined to send a public embassy to the court of Ispahan.

On the 5th of August, 1799, his Excellency addressed a letter from Fort St. George to the Hon. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, announcing

* The following note on the occupation of Goa, is contained in the Duke of Wellington's dispatches :—

MAJOR-GENERAL, THE HON. A. WELLESLEY, TO LIEUT. DILLON, ENVOY AT GOA.

"Seringapatam, 17th November, 1802.

"SIR,

"By a letter transmitted to me by Major Budden, I observe that the Governor-General has ordered that the troops may be withdrawn from Goa. I hope, however, that you are to remain ; and, at all events, I beg that you will remain there, till you receive the further orders of Government. In the present situation of affairs in this part of India, it is essentially necessary that a person should reside at Goa, on the part of the British Government, who possesses the confidence of, and has an influence over, the persons at the head of the government of that settlement.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"Lieut. Dillon,

"*Goa.*"

that he had appointed Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm as Envoy to Persia, and directed him to proceed to Bombay, to receive orders from the government of that presidency. Captain Malcolm conducted his difficult negotiation with great talent, and had the good fortune to conclude two treaties, one political and the other commercial, with the King of Persia; thereby affording a barrier against the invasion of India from the Euphrates, and securing valuable privileges to British trade in the interior of Asia. By a royal firmaun publicly issued to the various authorities in Persia, it is directed "Should ever any person of the French nation attempt to pass your port or boundaries, or desire to establish themselves either on the shores or frontiers, you are to take means to expel and extirpate them, and never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place; and you are at full liberty and authorised to disgrace and slay them. You are to look upon it as your duty to aid, and act in a friendly manner to all traders, merchants, and men of rank of the English nation; all such you are to consider as possessing the favour of the King, and you must act in conformity to the conditions of the annexed treaty, that has been concluded between the trustworthy of the high state, the bracelet of graceful government, Haujy Ibrahim Khaun, and the high in rank Captain John Malcolm." It was agreed that in case of any inroad being threatened by the Affghans, or any hostilities attempted by France, Persia should make common cause with the British Government.

The following is the flowery preamble of the poli-

tical treaty; into the details of which it will be unnecessary to enter: —

"Praise be unto God, who said, 'Oh you who believe, perform your contracts, perform your covenant with God when you enter into covenant with him, and violate not your engagements after the ratification thereof.' After the voice is raised to the praise and glory of the God of the World, and the brain is perfumed with the scent of the saints and the prophets, to whom be health and glory! whose rare perfections are perpetually chaunted by birds of melodious notes, furnished with two, three, or four pair of wings, and to the highest seated in the heavens, for whom good has been predestinated, and the perfume mixed with musk, which scenteth the celestial mansions of those that sing hymns in the ethereal sphere, and to the light of the flame of the Most High, which gave irradiated splendour to the collected view of those who dwell in the heavenly regions, the clear meaning of (the treaty) which has been established on a solid basis, is fully explained in this page, and it is fixed as a prescription of law, that in this world of existence and trouble, and in this universe of creation and concord, there is no action among those of mankind, that tends more to the perfection of the human race, or to answer the end of their being and existence, than that of cementing friendship, and of establishing intercourse, communication, and connexion between each other.

"The image reflected from the mirror of accomplishment is a tree, fruitful and abundant, and one that produces good both now and hereafter. To illustrate

the allusions that it has been proper to make, and to explain these metaphors, worthy of exposition at this happy period of auspicious aspect, a treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the exalted in station, attended by fortune of great and splendid power, the greatest among the high viziers, in whom confidence is placed, the faithful of the powerful Government, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, splendour, and fortune; Haujy Ibrahim Khaun on being granted leave, and vested with authority from the port of the high King, whose court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the king of the universe, like Caherman, the mansion of mercy and justice, the phœnix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity, the king powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the princes exalted to majesty by the heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the Most High! A Khoosroo, whose *saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon,—a prince of great rank, before whom the sun is concealed!*"

Lord Wellesley also directed his attention to the relations between the Imaum of Muscat,—a powerful chief, having no inconsiderable marine, and a large maritime coast in the Persian Gulf and the adjacent shores of Arabia, — and the British Government. Buonaparte had entered into correspondence with His Highness, and there is no doubt that at one period the Imaum was disposed to coöperate with the

French in their meditated designs against British India.

In April, 1799, it was found necessary to request the British Admiral to direct his attention to the port of Muscat. Shums-oo-Doulah, the brother in-law of the Nabob of Bengal (whose name occurs more than once in the correspondence between the Governor-General and Sir Alured Clarke,*) having been detected in a design to invite Zemaun Shah to invade Hindostan, for purposes hostile to the British possessions, had been taken into custody; and among his papers, which were secured upon his arrest, were found letters from various persons of note in Muscat, to the address of Shums-oo-Doulah and of the Nabob of Bengal, the contents of which afforded the strongest reason to believe that some scheme injurious to British interests had been in agitation between the parties. The language of the letters was studiously obscure, and referred to the verbal communications of an agent employed to conduct the negotiation, which had evidently been originated by the people of Muscat, at the suggestion of French emissaries.

Lord Wellesley confided to Captain Malcolm the task of winning over the Arab chieftain to the interests of Great Britain. "The issue of Captain Malcolm's negotiation with the Imaum of Muscat," writes the Governor-General to the Court of Directors in September, 1801, "has proved highly advantageous to the interests of the British nation. The importance of cultivating a good understanding with

* *Vide ante*, vol. i. page 265.

the government of Muscat is sufficiently obvious, and the arrangements which have taken place with that government, through the agency of Captain Malcolm, may be expected to ensure all the benefit of which that connexion is susceptible." Notwithstanding the amicable professions of the Imaum, he secretly cherished feelings of enmity towards the British nation; as the following letter, written a few months after the date of the dispatch from which we have quoted, will demonstrate:—

(Private.)

"My dear Lord, "Fort St. George, 1st May, 1802.

"The enclosed intelligence being of sufficient importance to attract your Lordship's serious attention, as well as indicative, with other circumstances, of the present times, of the little reliance to be placed upon the continuance of peace, I lose not a moment in transmitting it. I remain, &c., Clive."

(Enclosure.)

"Mr. Price, assistant-surgeon of H. M. 12th regiment, arrived from the Isle of France in the *Dispatch*, states that on his arrival at the Island two Arab ships from the Imaum of Muscat, were at the port of N. W., having brought an ambassador from that chief, distinguished by the title of Vizier, who was received with extraordinary honours.

"On the 15th of March the ambassador embarked under a salute of nineteen guns, accompanied by fifty military officers, twelve 32-pounder guns, several field-pieces, and a large supply of muskets and stores.

"On Mr. Price's first arrival, it was generally reported that General Magallon had declined a com pliance with the application of the Imaum, because the object of the supply was inimical to the English, with whom his nation was at peace. Accounts having, however, arrived from the Cape, of our retention of the colony, the assistance above stated was prepared with the greatest expedition.

"A Mr. Hugh Macauley commanded one of the Arab ships. It was understood that on her sailing a French captain was secreted on board, and apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Captain Macauley."

CHAPTER II.

Negotiations with the Nabob of Arcot.—Marquess Wellesley proposes a new Treaty.—Disorders in the Government of the Carnatic.—Position of the Nabob in reference to the East India Company.—The Nabob refuses to alter the Treaty of 1792. The Conclusion of the War in Mysore.—Presents the Assumption of the Government of the Carnatic, under the Treaty of 1792.—Papers found in Seringapatam, criminating the Nabob, and proving his Enmity to the English.—Examination of Mr. Mill's Suggestion, that the Documents were forged for a Fraudulent Purpose.—Their Genuineness.—British Officers and Gentlemen not such mere creatures of Government as to consent to be the Instruments of Infamous Transactions.—Summary of the Charges against the Nabob.—Lord Wellesley delays Proceedings till he had submitted the correspondence and whole Case to the Home Authorities.—Their Opinion.—Proceedings deferred, in consequence of the Illness of the Nabob.—His Death.—Lord Clive's Negotiations with Ali Hussain, his Son.—His Fickleness and Obstinacy against Lord Clive's Plans.—Lord Clive supports the Pretensions of Azeem, another Member of the Family.—Azeem placed on the Throne.—Treaty with the British.—Arrival of an Imposing French Force at Pondicherry after the Peace of Amiens.

As we have seen in the preceding volume, the negotiations which the Governor-General had, by the directions of the Court of Directors, opened with the Nabob of Arcot, had not been productive of the desired effects. During the year 1799, being at Madras, engaged in directing the preparations against Tippoo Sultaun, his Excellency the Governor-General again entered into communication with Omdât al Omrah, and pressed his Highness to accede to the demands of

the East India Company, so repeatedly urged upon his attention. The treaty of 1792, entered into between the Nabob of Arcot, and the Marquess Cornwallis, gave the right to the British Government to assume the temporary government of the country, on the occurrence of war in the Carnatic. And in a dispatch of the 13th of June, 1799, the authorities at the India House, taking it for granted that a war with the Sultaun of Seringapatam would necessarily involve hostilities in the Carnatic, directed the Governor-General to act upon the treaty of 1792, and not relinquish the management of the government of the Carnatic, till arrangements were made, by the Nabob, for relieving the finances of the Carnatic from all incumbrances on the revenue. On the 24th of April, 1799, the Earl of Mornington addressed a letter to his Highness the Nabob. He observed that under the third article of the treaty of 1792, it now became the right of the Company to exercise that full authority over the Carnatic, which in that article was formally acknowledged to be necessary for the prosecution of war. Knowing, however, the aversion which the Nabob entertained to the enforcement of this article of the treaty of 1792, the Governor-General presented to his Highness as an alternative, that he should cede to the Hon. East India Company, in undivided sovereignty, those territories which were already mortgaged for the payment of his subsidy, in which case he would be exempted from the operation of the clause which subjected him to the assumption of the government of his country; while it was further proposed to make over to him, in liqui-

dation of his debt to the Company, certain sums in dispute, to the amount 2,30,040.*

At this period the debt of the Nabob to the Company consisted of

First.—Of the balance as reported by Messrs. Woolf and Place, on the 1st of July, 1793, 35,06,135.

Second.—Balance of the Kistbundy account, 9 September, 1791, 1,998, 006.

Third.—Balance of the new cavalry loan, with interest at 8 per cent., to 12th October, 1798, 11,62, 770. Total—66,66,911.

Having dwelt upon the various financial disorders which prevailed in the Carnatic, and the irregularity in the payments of the Company provided by the treaty of 1792, Lord Mornington observes, "The Carnatic, therefore, in addition to the calamitous misrule of those who have governed it, under temporary assignments of territory, has been subjected to all the accumulated evils of a divided government, and a fluctuating and precarious authority." His Lordship sums up in the following terms the result which would follow from the plan which he proposed:—"Under the new arrangement your Highness would be relieved from all urgent demands, either of a public or private

* Memorandum of the districts, with the estimated amount of their net revenue, to be placed under the exclusive management, control, and orders of the English East India Company, by his Highness the Nawaub, &c., of the Carnatic, by the proposed treaty, in lieu of his Highness's payment of pagodas 12,56,400 15,54.

Setwadoo, including Calicut, &c., 9800; Palmaud 24,657; Ongole 93,334: Nellore 3,31, 783; Trichinopoly, exclusive of jaghires, 2,51,139; Madura 64,945; Tinnerelly 4,06,508; southern division of Arcot, to the amount of 2,01,157; Sadras Peiscush 1450. Total sterling pagodas 13,84,773.

nature, and you would possess a much more ample revenue than you now enjoy, with the additional satisfaction of reflecting that your possession was liable to no disturbance, either from the contingency of war, or from any casual failure of your resources. You would be at liberty to direct your undivided attention to the cultivation and improvement of those resources, to the utmost practical extent; and you never could feel the necessity of injuring the mainsprings of your revenue, for the purpose of meeting the exigency of occasional difficulty." The Nabob, however, firmly resisted all arguments and persuasions. In answer both to Lord Mornington and Lord Clive, he positively refused to modify or alter, even in a letter, the treaty of 1792.

Thus the affairs of Arcot stood when the fortress of Seringapatam fell into the hands of the British army. The rapidity with which the war was brought to a conclusion prevented the Governor-General from enforcing the third article of that treaty; but the discovery of papers in the palace of Tippoo Sultaun soon convinced Lord Mornington that the time had arrived when it would be imperatively necessary to interfere actively for the settlement of the distracted affairs of the Carnatic.

"Nothing surely ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time!" is the exclamation of Mr. Mill with reference to the secret correspondence discovered in Seringapatam;—an observation thrown out apparently for the purpose of suggesting, what even he shrunk from asserting, that the papers were fabricated for the purpose of making out a case

against the Nabob of Arcot. Indeed, shortly after, he indulges in the following reflections: "As the British Government was situated with respect to the papers of Tippoo, *it was, it may be affirmed, the easiest thing in the world to prepare evidence for any purpose which it pleased:* and I wish we could say that civilization and philosophy have made so great a progress in Europe, that European rulers would not fabricate a mass of evidence, even where a kingdom is not a prize."

Nothing could be more unjust than such an observation. Even if it were possible to presume such a degree of baseness in a British nobleman, invested for a brief space of time with political authority, as to suppose that he could be directly a party to forgery, perjury, and the most atrocious perfidy, it may boldly be denied that it would, under the circumstances stated, have been "the easiest thing in the world" or even a thing possible, to have procured a fabricated mass of written evidence. We must first assume that General Harris, General Baird, Colonel Wellesley, Colonel Close, Hon. Henry Wellesley, Captain Macauley and Mr. Edminstone, the sworn translator to the Government, and Mr. Webbe, would condescend to be the vile instruments of any government in the perpetration of an unmanly fraud! The documents found in the palace of Seringapatam, implicating the conduct of the Nabobs of the Carnatic, were duly attested and submitted to the most rigid scrutiny; and it is impossible to question their authenticity and genuineness without indulging in a degree of scepticism, which must necessarily oblige us to doubt every matter of fact supported by

moral evidence. But we might fearlessly place the *honour* of such men as the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Clive, and the Hon. Jonathan Duncan, in opposition to such a charge. English gentlemen are, happily, not such mere creatures of the government of the day, as to be ready at any moment, at the dictation or solicitation of a higher authority, to taint themselves with infamous transactions! Indeed, Mr. Mill no sooner throws out the suggestion, apparently for the benefit of "those who are not partial to the British character," than he thinks it prudent to withdraw it: "With regard to Lord Wellesley, even his faults bear so little affinity with this species of vice, and his most conspicuous virtues are so directly opposed to it, that we may safely infer it to be as unlikely in his case, as in any which can well be supposed, that he would fabricate evidence to attain the objects of his desire, notwithstanding the violence with which he was apt to desire, and the faculty which he possessed of persuading himself that everything was righteous by which his desires were going to be fulfilled."

We have therefore not to decide whether these papers are forgeries or genuine documents, for that question is settled beyond controversy; it only remains to inquire whether or not the letters referred to tended to criminate the Nabob of Arcot, and if they did, what proceedings were instituted against that sovereign in consequence of the matters disclosed in them, or elicited through their instrumentality? The whole of the documents are in the MS. collection of the late Marquess Wellesley; their substance is accurately stated in his Lordship's published dis-

patches. The following facts were established to the satisfaction of the Government:—

First.—That the Nabob Waulah Jah maintained a secret intercourse and correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, through the medium of the Vakeels Ghoolaum Ali Khan and Ali Rezza Khan, for the purpose of forming a connexion with Tippoo Sultaun, subversive of the alliance subsisting between his Highness and the Honourable Company, and directly adverse to the British interests in India.

Secondly.—That the Nabob established such connexion, and proceeded to act under it by communicating certain articles of intelligence of a nature calculated to betray the interests of the Honourable Company, and to favour the sinister designs of Tippoo Sultaun against them.

Thirdly.—That the present Nabob of the Carnatic, Omdut ul Omrah, was a principal channel of communication between his father and the Vakeels, for maintaining the secret intercourse before mentioned; that he cordially united, both on his father's account and on his own, in promoting the objects of it.

Fourthly.—That the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, after his accession to the musnud, continued to maintain a secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, in the same spirit which he manifested in his intercourse with the Vakeels of that prince, during the lifetime of his father.

The papers establishing these conclusions came into the possession of the Governor-General in 1799. On the 18th of May, 1800, the Commissioners appointed to investigate the case of the Nabob of Arcot

signed their report; yet it was not till the 28th of May, 1801, that Lord Wellesley issued his final orders upon the subject. His Lordship, so far from acting precipitately or inconsiderately in the matter, had transmitted the whole of the documents found in Seringapatam to the Home authorities, and had received the opinion both of the President of the Board of Control, and of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors thereon, before he authorised Lord Clive to propose a new treaty to the Nabob, requiring him to cede the civil and military government of the Carnatic to the East India Company. Let us now see to what extent Lord Wellesley was justified in taking this decisive step.

1. In the practice of raising money annually by assignments of the revenues of those districts which formed the security for the payment of the Company's subsidy, the Nabob *had violated* the letter and spirit of the treaty of 1792.

2. He owed a large debt to the Company, and was most irregular in his payments; the whole financial affairs of the Carnatic being in indescribable confusion.

3. *By the very act of opening a correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, he violated the tenth article of the treaty of* 1792, for he was bound "not to enter into any negotiation or political correspondence with any European or native power whatever, without the consent of the Company."*

4. The matter of the correspondence with the Court of Mysore unquestionably exhibited feelings of

* Malcolm.

enmity and hostility to the British Government and the Company while the Nabob professed to be one of their allies.

5. The civil disorders of the Carnatic rendered it imperative on the British Government to interfere to put an end to the evils that preyed upon the kingdom.

6. And, lastly, it being highly probable that a return of peace between England and France would be followed by the restitution of the French settlement of Pondicherry, the principle of self-preservation naturally impelled the supreme Government to take all possible security against the recurrence of those intrigues which had, to so great an extent, disturbed the Indian Peninsula.

Besides, the proposed arrangement, Lord Wellesley knew, would add considerably to the personal comfort and peace of the Nabob,—a circumstance that would counterbalance, in some measure, the loss of a precarious political power, and confer inestimable advantages upon his subjects, who would reap the benefits which the natives of India have ever experienced from the evenness and justice of British rule. When Lord Clive received Lord Wellesley's directions to propose a treaty to the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that sovereign was labouring under an illness which he was not expected to survive. Proceedings were therefore delayed; but after the death of his Highness, which took place on the 15th of July, 1801, Lord Clive authorised Messrs. Webbe and Close, the Commissioners, to open communication with Ali Hussain, the son of Omdut ul Omrah, who

was nominated successor, with regents to assist him till he arrived at mature age. Lord Clive subsequently went in person to conduct the negotiation with the young prince. Ali Hussain at first expressed his readiness to comply with the proposed terms, but subsequently retracted all his concessions. Lord Clive, after stating to the youth what would be the inevitable result of his vacillation, declared that unless he consented to the propositions submitted to him by the British Government, they would not sanction his succession to the musnud. After some further fruitless negotiation, Lord Clive resolved to recognize Azeem ul Doulah, another member of the family, as Nabob; and that prince having acceded to the demands of the Governor-General, a treaty was framed whereby Azeem was "formally established in the state and rank, with the dignities dependent thereon, of his ancestors, heretofore Nabobs of the Carnatic." Ali Hussain afterwards employed agents in London to bring his case before the public. Their representations produced little effect; and on the 6th of April, 1802, the ill-advised prince died from an attack of dysentery. As a sequel to the whole of these transactions it must be added that the moment the peace of Amiens was concluded, Napoleon Buonaparte sent out a squadron to Pondicherry with seven general officers, a proportionate number of inferior rank, with fourteen hundred of his best troops, and 100,000*l.* in specie! How Lord Wellesley received this armament, designed to effect the re-establishment of French influence in the Carnatic, we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

The Red Sea Expedition.—Foresight and Energy of the Marquess Wellesley.—For Seven Months without Intelligence from England.—Sends a Force to Annoy the French in Egypt.—Writes to Sir Sidney Smith. —Aden.—Opinion against it.—Letter from Admiral Blankett respecting the Sheriffe of Mecca.—Blankett's Death.—Marquess Wellesley's views respecting the Red Sea.—Expedition to Batavia. —Colonel Wellesley declines Command.—Colonel Champagné appointed.—Unfavourable News from Egypt.—Batavian Expedition countermanded.—Letters to Sir Sidney Smith.—No Intelligence from Europe.—Preparations against Batavia resumed.—Battle of Marengo. —Marquess Wellesley alters his Plans.—Assembles a Force at Trincomalé.—Colonel Wellesley appointed to the Command.—Letter to Colonel Champagné.—Urgent Letters to Hon. Frederick North, and to Lord Clive.—Colonel Wellesley's energetic Preparations.—Letter of Marquess Wellesley to Colonel (afterwards Marshal) Beresford.—Expedition against the Isle of France.—Colonel Wellesley to command.—Admiral Rainier refuses to coöperate.—The Admiral's Secret Letter.—Ships captured by the French.—No Advices from England.—Resolves to resume the Batavian Expedition and demand the Assistance of Admiral Sir Roger Curtis against the Mauritius.—General Baird appointed to the chief Command.—Letter of Marquess Wellesley to the Governor of Batavia.—Hook's Account of the Appointment of General Baird, and of his stormy Conversation with Marquess Wellesley.—Remarks on Hook's Observation, that the Claims of General Baird and Colonel Wellesley came into collision.—The Intentions of the Governor-General shown by his private Letters.—Letter to General Baird. —Letter of Mr. Dundas, requesting coöperation against the French in Egypt.—Lord Wellesley's Alacrity.—Orders Baird and Colonel Wellesley to the Red Sea.—Colonel Wellesley sails with the Troops to Bombay without Orders.—Letter of Lord Wellesley to Admiral Rainier.—Colonel Wellesley's Feelings of Disappointment on General Baird's Appointment.—The Colonel is seized with a Fever at Bombay.—Unable to proceed with the Expedition.—Letter to General Baird.—Important Letter of Marquess Wellesley reviewing the foregoing Circumstances.—Letter to Mr. Dundas.—Observations on the British Expedition to Egypt and Expulsion of the French.

THE Red Sea expedition, organized by the Marquess Wellesley to aid in the expulsion of the French from Egypt, considered with reference to all the various important circumstances connected with it, deserves to be classed among the most memorable events of Lord Wellesley's administration, and among the ablest efforts of modern statesmanship. Separated by a great distance from the seat of his Majesty's Government, and deprived, by the prevalence of hostilities in every quarter of the globe, of the ordinary means of communication with the Cabinet,* the Marquess Wellesley was in a great measure entirely left to the resources of his own mind, without any other guidance than his individual views as to the course which events on the continent of Europe would render necessary. He altered his arrangements with masterly skill as the fortune of war fluctuated, and calculated with astonishing precision the political effects likely to ensue from the success of the French arms in Austria and the Tyrol. The rapidity and decision of the movements which he directed on the arrival of intelligence of the decisive issue of the battle of Marengo, afford a favourable instance of the correctness of his judgment, and of the foresight which enabled him to anticipate events and pierce the designs of the enemy. Although for nearly two years Lord Wellesley had been left in ignorance as to the intentions of the King's Government relative to the expedition to Egypt from India, which he had urgently pressed upon their attention,—when at length their orders ar-

* For *seven months* together, in the year 1800, the Marquess was without a line of authentic intelligence from England!

rived to collect and equip a force to coöperate from the Red Sea with General Abercrombie in dislodging the French army from Egypt, Lord Wellesley was prepared at once to carry their wishes into effect; having a force considerably larger than the one which they demanded, already prepared, equipped, and provided with instructions, ready to sail at a moment's warning.

The expedition to Egypt, and the projected expeditions to Batavia and the Isle of France, with which it was intimately related, demand attention as well because they illustrate the wisdom and energy of the Marquess Wellesley's character as on account of the vast importance to the permanent interests of Great Britain, of preventing Egypt and the Mauritius from being held by France, or placed under French influence. They derive additional interest from the prominent part taken in their preparation by Colonel Wellesley, in the early history of whose career all men feel an excusable curiosity; more especially as it has been alleged that in this instance, as well as in others, the Governor-General unfairly gave a prominence to his brother, to the disadvantage of older officers.

In the very first letter in which Lord Wellesley announced to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas the fact of the capture of Seringapatam, (dated, Fort George, 16th May, 1799,) his Lordship suggested a coöperating expedition from India, for the purpose of attacking Buonaparte in Egypt:—"If the French should be established in Egypt, it might be advisable," observes Lord Wellesley, "to consider whether an expedition might not be fitted out from India, to coöperate by

way of the Red Sea, with any attempt which might be undertaken from the Mediterranean. *I cannot venture to prepare any such expedition without orders from England; but if I should receive them, you may be assured that they will be executed with alacrity and diligence, not only by me, but by the whole army of India.*" For the space of nearly two years, Lord Wellesley anxiously waited for those orders; and was left in a state of doubt and uncertainty as to the intentions of the Home Government. His Lordship was not, however, an idle spectator of the operations of the French in Egypt. In the month of February, 1801, Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, who upon every occasion afforded Lord Wellesley the most valuable and cordial coöperation in carrying out his Lordship's plans, dispatched a military force from his presidency to cooperate with Rear Admiral Blankett, in rendering the position of the French on the Egyptian coast uneasy. The intentions of the Governor-General with reference to these operations, are explained in the following letter:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH.

"Fort William, April 26th, 1800.

"SIR,

"I have had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter of the 1st of February, 1800, enclosing a copy of the Convention concluded between the Grand Vizier and the Commissioners of the French army, for the evacuation of Egypt by the latter; and I congratulate your Excellency as well on the happy issue

of this important negotiation, as on the distinguished part which your Excellency has borne in its conduct.

"Although our disposable force in India, even after the conquest of Mysore, was not considerable, I had an anxious desire, after the fall of the Sultaun, to make every practicable exertion from this side, to disturb the enemy in Egypt. I was, however, convinced by a full consideration of the subject, that no effort which I could make for this purpose, on an extensive scale, could possibly produce any advantage proportioned to the great expense and hazard of the enterprise, unless it should be conducted in perfect concert with your Excellency and the Turkish forces; and on such a regular system of coöperation, as (if even practicable under any circumstances) I perceived no possibility of arranging within a reasonable period of time.

"These considerations determined me to confine my efforts against the enemy for the present to such desultory operations as might be undertaken by his Majesty's squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Blankett, aided by military detachments from Bombay. The detailed measures which I adopted with this view in the beginning of February last, will probably have been communicated to your Excellency by the Rear-Admiral.

"If (notwithstanding the late convention for the evacuation of Egypt by the French, and contrary to every well-founded expectation, as well as to every reasonable speculation which can be formed with respect to the general aspect of affairs in Europe), the enemy should continue to maintain the possession of

Egypt,* your Excellency will find me cordially disposed to coöperate to the extent of my means, in any measures which may be concerted for the forcible expulsion of the French army.

"I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency, that the prosperity and tranquillity of the British Empire in India continues undisturbed. No Asiatic enemy or rival now exists to endanger our security, and our naval superiority will probably preclude France from sending any armament into these seas.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "MORNINGTON."

The question of the occupation of Aden formed a subject of discussion between the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, and the Governor-General in Council in 1799–1800. Lord Mornington was adverse to the proposed occupation of the place, after a consideration of the proposed establishment—1, as a naval station; 2, as a commercial depot; 3, as a military position; and 4, as viewed with reference to its probable political tendency. His Lordship in council observes—"The judgment of Admiral Blankett on this question (the first point) appears to us decisive. He declares, after the fullest deliberation, 'that no officer of common prudence would consider Aden as a proper station for a cruising-squadron,' and he supports this opinion by a statement of facts, the force and accuracy of which seem to be indisputable. An establishment at Aden

* His Lordship's anticipations were, in this respect, realised.

would therefore be attended with no advantage in a naval point of view." After reviewing the three remaining points, Lord Wellesley formally decided against its occupation. However useful, therefore, as a depot for supplying coal to the steamers which ply between Bombay and Suez the place may be, the importance of Aden to Great Britain has been greatly overrated by French writers, whose jealousy has exaggerated that rock into a Gibraltar of the East!

The following is a letter from Rear-Admiral Blankett, then employed in the Red Sea. The gallant Admiral did not, it appears, rely altogether on the broadsides of his ships, but employed moral and theological weapons, when an opportunity offered :—

(Copy transmitted to Lord Wellesley)

"H.M.S. Leopard, at Jedda, 15th June, 1800.

"SIR,

"I have this morning had a conference with the Sheriffe of Mecca, in which I used all the arguments as my duty suggested, to obtain his promise of assisting us in repelling the French invasion of Egypt, and to exert his influence with the Arab chiefs to consider themselves as bound by their religion to do their utmost to assist in the common cause in resisting the violent aggressions of the French, as the invaders of the rights of mankind, and as destroyers of every principle of morality and virtue.

"To this representation I have received the most favourable assurances of his friendship and good endeavours, and he submitted so far as to permit me

to propose some modes which I thought might be useful for the present, and others which might serve us at some future time.

"I proposed to him that as he knew the influence of religion on men's minds, he should order his Mufti throughout Arabia to pray for the success of the Ottoman arms; and I did so the more, as I knew the strong prejudice the Bedouin Arabs were under, that he was himself cold in the cause. I likewise proposed circular letters to be written to the Arab chiefs to consider the English everywhere as friends to the common cause of religion and virtue, as the old and faithful allies of the Porte, and that wherever we came we were to be assisted as friends, and not to be considered as invaders, and that all supplies they would send in should be regularly paid for, and every means taken to conciliate their good offices.

"Their Lordships will pardon me for not entering into detail. I hope they will believe I acted with all the zeal which is due to the Sovereign I have the honour to serve. I am, &c.,

"J. BLANKETT, *Rear-Admiral.*"

"To Evan Nepean, Esq., &c.,
"Admiralty, London."

Finding that his appeal to the religious sentiments of the children of the desert had not been productive of all the effects he desired, Admiral Blankett * tries another tack. In a letter to Lord Wellesley, he observes—"I do think *I can purchase* Ibrahim Jellause,

* This brave officer died on board H.M.S. *Leopard* at Mocha, on the 14th July, 1801, generally regretted.

the sheriffe of Mecca's confidential merchant, and through whom most of his French correspondence has passed. If I can do this, I will trust to your Lordship to indemnify me, as I am too cautious to trust an Arab without services performed that shall fully be worth the payment."

In a dispatch dated March 5th, 1800, to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, the Governor-General again presses his opinion on the subject of an expedition on a grand scale against the French in Egypt. "I conclude," he says, "that the power of the French in Egypt is either already extirpated, or that you will continue the war until that indispensable object shall be completely effected. Notwithstanding the present proud and commanding predominance of the British power in India, we cannot expect an uninterrupted continuance of tranquillity while France shall be permitted to maintain a powerful establishment in Egypt. Since I wrote the preceding paragraph," adds His Excellency, "I have received dispatches from Lord Elgin, dated the 22nd of December, 1799, by which it appears that Kleber remains in Egypt with 15,000 men, and that Buonaparte is at the head of a new government in France. Lord Elgin proposes a powerful diversion from India through the Red Sea, for the purpose of accelerating the evacuation of Egypt by the French, but after a full discussion of this subject with General Stuart, I am satisfied that it would be an useless waste of treasure and blood to attempt such an expedition on a large scale, *unless the whole plan of coöperation from the Mediterranean had been previously concerted.* De-

sultory operations against any places retained by the French on the shores of the Red Sea, may be advantageous; they would be neither perilous nor expensive."

In May, 1800, circumstances appearing favourable, Lord Wellesley determined, agreeably to instructions direct from the King, to prepare an expedition "for the purpose of endeavouring to induce the settlement of Batavia to accept His Majesty's protection on the same terms granted to the colony of Surinam, and to those of Demerara and Berbice." Vice-Admiral Rainier was to command the naval forces; and in the first instance the Governor-General tendered the command of the land forces to his brother, Colonel Wellesley. As the circumstances of this command have been misrepresented or misunderstood, it is important to notice the extent of the military force that Lord Wellesley directed to be employed upon this occasion. "Since my arrival here," writes Mr. Webbe to Colonel the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, "I find that orders are arrived from Bengal for equipping a naval and military force for that purpose; the latter, however, not to exceed six hundred Europeans and six hundred natives." No force was to be used, and Mr. Webbe suggested that all the negotiations would probably be conducted by the Admiral. Again in a private note to Colonel Wellesley, Lord Clive says, "The force allotted for this expedition is to consist of a detachment of artillery and six hundred Europeans, to be furnished by the Presidency,* and Ceylon, and of the Bengal marine

* Madras.

battalion now encamped in this neighbourhood." In consequence of the earnest recommendations of Lord Clive, Mr. Webbe (secretary to the government of Madras), and Colonel Barry Close, Colonel Wellesley at once declined the command of the expedition; which was conferred upon Colonel Champagné.*

The unfavourable intelligence from Egypt, which the Governor-General received in the early part of the month of July, determined His Excellency to defer the Batavian expedition. "The tenour of the advices from Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, dated, Mocha, 1st June, 1800, combined with other considerations which I shall have the honour to state to your Excellency on a future occasion," Lord Wellesley writes to the the Admiral, "confirms me in the opinion that it is inexpedient, at this period, to prosecute the intended expedition to Batavia." In the most earnest manner he recommends Admiral Rainier to collect together as many ships as practicable, and adds—"I have now under my consideration the possibility and expediency of sending a military force from India to Egypt by the Red Sea, and I shall hereafter have the honour to communicate to your Excellency the result of my opinion on this difficult and embarrassing question." The following letter written four days after this date to Sir Sidney Smith explains more fully Lord Wellesley's views on this most interesting subject:—

* Afterwards General Sir Joseph Champagné, Colonel of the 17th foot.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH.

(Secret.) "Fort William, July 13th, 1800.

"SIR,

"I had the honour to receive your Excellency's dispatch of the 5th of April, 1800, on the 21st ultimo. I received at the same time from Mr. Morier (the agent of Lord Elgin with the Grand Vizier) a dispatch dated the 22nd of March conveying to me the details of the unfortunate action of the 20th of March between the French and the Turkish armies.

"I should be happy, if it were in my power, to reply to the expressions of your Excellency's anxiety for an expedition from India to Egypt in a manner conformable to your wishes and to my own inclinations.

"I had the honour to inform your Excellency, in my letter of the 26th of April last, that our disposable force in India was not considerable; but that I entertained an anxious desire to make every practicable exertion to disturb the enemy in Egypt. In that letter I particularly stated the absolute necessity, as an indispensable preliminary, to any undertaking from India of a regular system of coöperation being previously arranged with the Turkish army, and forces to be employed from the Mediterranean.

"The difficulty of concerting such a plan of measures is greatly increased in consequence of the disastrous retreat of the Turkish army from Egypt. A subsequent dispatch from Mr. Morier, dated the

21st day of April, opened some prospect of an improvement in the state of affairs in that country; but late advices from Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, who for some time occupied Suez, afford reason to believe that the hopes founded on the temporary possession of Cairo by a division of the Turkish army have been disappointed; and that the French are again complete masters of Egypt. Independently of these obstacles to any efficient coöperation between the troops of the Porte and those acting in the Mediterranean, and any expedition which could proceed from India, it is my duty to apprise your Excellency that although the general prosperity and security of the British possessions in this quarter of the globe are not in any degree diminished since the date of my last letter, various disturbances have broken out in different parts of our more recent acquisitions, which would render it extremely difficult to assemble or to detach any considerable force for foreign service. These considerations are greatly strengthened by other circumstances which render it highly inexpedient that we should, in the present conjuncture, weaken our army in India; and more particularly the European part of it, by any powerful detachment to so remote a quarter of Egypt.

"With these sentiments I have still no hesitation in assuring you that I would readily endeavour to surmount the different obstacles to an expedition to Egypt, on the most extended scale, *if I were authorised by his Majesty's Ministers to do so;* and if I perceived a reasonable probability of efficient coöperation, from any other quarter, with the troops which

might be sent hence to Egypt. But I have hitherto received no such authority from England (notwithstanding that my application on that subject reached Mr. Secretary Dundas as early as the 13th of September, 1799, and I have received two sets of voluminous dispatches from him of a date long subsequent to that period). On the other hand, the difficulty of concerting such a plan of operations as would secure to the Indian army due support on its arrival in Egypt, is obviously augmented by the late occurrences.

"For these combined reasons I have stated to Lord Elgin my determination to decline, for the present, the detachment of any considerable force to the Red Sea. I have, however, taken into consideration the means of attempting such desultory operations in the Red Sea as may be undertaken by the inconsiderable forces which it will be in my power to spare for the purpose, as soon as the season for entering the Red Sea shall arrive.

"Proceeding on this limited scale, I cannot expect to be enabled to attempt more than to reduce, and with the assistance of his Majesty's squadron in the Red Sea, to retain Cossire and Suez. Observing, however, the importance which General Kleber attaches (in the intercepted correspondence) to the former of these places, it may be concluded that its reduction by a British force, capable of retaining it for any period of time, would tend considerably to embarrass the enemy by obstructing his communications with the countries contiguous to Cossire, and by encouraging the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt, whom

we might supply thro' this channel with arms and ammunition.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, in a letter to Captain Lacy, dated the 19th of April, which would probably come under your Excellency's notice, has thought proper to state it as 'a thing that might possibly occur, that a body of Europeans might be sent to the Red Sea; that all this time they could well be spared from India and that the measure was, he had reason to believe, in contemplation.' After what I have communicated to your Excellency, in the preceeding part of this dispatch, it is unnecessary to observe to you that Lieutenant-Colonel Murray was totally unauthorised to deliver any such opinions. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH, &c.

(Private.) "Fort William, July 13th, 1800.

"SIR,

"I am deprived of the pleasure of answering your private letter of the 5th of April, 1800, by the effects of an indisposition, which renders me unable at this time to write to you with my own hand. I am at present merely able to acknowledge the receipt of that letter; but I trust that it will soon be in my power to address you with my own hand. In the meantime, I remain Sir, &c.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

The difficulties of Lord Wellesley's situation at this period, arising from the interruption of communication between India and the Home Government, may be imagined from the following statement in one of his Lordship's letters, dated October 6th, 1800, to Hugh Inglis, Esq., the Chairman of the Court of Directors:—"In the present year I was nearly *seven months* without receiving one line of authentic intelligence from England. My distress and anxiety of mind were scarcely supportable. Speedy, authentic, and regular intelligence from Europe is essential to the conduct of the trade and government of this empire.* If the sources of information be obstructed, no conscientious man can undertake this weighty charge."

Circumstances again appearing favourable in the month of September, 1800, Lord Wellesley directed Admiral Rainier and Colonel Champagné to resume their preparations for the Batavian Expedition. The news of the battle of Marengo, and of the armistice between France and Austria, however, induced the Governor-General again to countermand his orders, and take active measures for coöperating in any offensive or defensive operations that might be directed by His Majesty's Government. On the very day on which the advices from the British Resident at Bussorah reached his Excellency, the following letter was dispatched to Ceylon:—

* The public are much indebted to the enterprise of Mr. Waghorn, whose indefatigable exertions to secure this highly important object, by opening the routes both by Egypt and Trieste, are calculated to confer lasting advantages on this country and on India.

[By Express.]

TO COLONEL CHAMPAGNÉ, COMMANDING AT TRINCOMALÉ.

"Fort William, Oct. 15th, 1800.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor-General to inform you, that since the date of my letter to you of the 5th instant, circumstances have occurred which have induced his Lordship to relinquish entirely, for the present, the proposed expedition against Batavia.

"You will of course discontinue, upon your receipt of this letter, any preparations which you may have made, in pursuance of the directions contained in my letter of the 5th instant.

"If, in consequence of that letter, you should have incurred any expenses of a personal nature, the Governor-General desires that you will transmit to him, in his individual capacity, an account of the same, when his Lordship will issue the necessary orders for reimbursing you. I am &c. W. KIRKPATRICK,

"*Secretary to Government.*"

The Governor-General's views at this crisis are fully developed in the following remarkable public letter:—

[By Express. Most secret.]

TO THE HONOURABLE FREDERICK NORTH, &C.

"Fort William, 23rd Oct., 1800.

"SIR,

"1. I conclude that your Excellency will have been furnished by Lord Clive with a copy of the im-

portant advices which I received on the 15th instant, from the resident at Bussorah.

"2. The result of the late events in Europe has probably been an immediate peace between France and Austria. It is not, however, equally probable that peace will speedily be concluded between Great Britain and France. If the war on the Continent has ceased, and if hostilities have continued between Great Britain and France, it is reasonable to suppose that the enemy has prepared to make, with the least practicable delay, a vigorous effort to relieve the French army in Egypt; and that this effort may be accompanied or speedily followed by an attack upon our possessions in India.

"3. The renewed spirit and enterprising genius of Buonaparte, will naturally lead him to commence his operations with a view to either or both these objects, at the earliest practicable period of time. Experience warrants an expectation that he will not lose a moment in availing himself of the actual advantages of his situation, and it is certain that any naval armament which he might be enabled to dispatch from France in the past months of July ,August, and September, A. D. 1800, might reach the Red Sea or the western coast of India during the approaching season.

"4. On the other hand, the probability increases every hour of a demand from his Majesty's Ministers upon the British Government, and upon his Majesty's squadron in India, to coöperate with a force to be employed in the Mediterranean for the expulsion of the French from Egypt. A considerable British force has been collected at Minorca, originally, perhaps,

with a view to an attempt on the southern coasts of France. That design, however, (if it was ever entertained,) has probably been relinquished, in consequence of the late events on the continent of Europe. In the event of a separate peace between Austria and France, and of the continuance of hostilities between Great Britain and France, it is not improbable that the troops assembled at Minorca may be employed in concert with the Turkish army against the French in Egypt. In such an event, an expedition from India might prove essentially useful by creating a diversion on the side of Upper Egypt; and the tenor of my private dispatches from the Earl of Elgin tends to confirm the probability that the unfavourable alteration which has taken place in the state of the war with France will induce his Majesty's Ministers to require an expedition from India to Egypt, in the only manner in which such an operation could be undertaken with any prospect of advantage,—namely, by combining it with a powerful attack from the side of the Mediterranean. It may be expected that any such requisition from his Majesty's Ministers may reach me in the first week in November, and that they will expect the fleets and armies of India, to be ready to act against Egypt during the approaching season.

"5. The preceding statement will have explained to your Excellency my reasons for apprehending that the naval and military strength of India is likely to be required, either for the purposes of defensive or offensive operations, on the western side of the peninsula, between the ensuing months of December and March; and your Excellency's judgment and experience in

the interests of the British empire in India will form a correct estimate of the magnitude of the danger which we may be called upon to repel, and of the urgent necessity of placing our force in such a condition, and in such a station, as shall enable us to act with promptitude and effect whenever the expected exigency shall arise.

"6. After the fullest consideration of these circumstances, I am decidedly of opinion that the British government of India would not be justified in undertaking or prosecuting any expedition, the necessary effect of which must be to remove the strength of his Majesty's squadron to any considerable distance to the eastward for any long period of time. The same objection applies, in a certain degree, to the detachment of any part of our military force in the present juncture, for the purpose of any foreign conquest unconnected with an increase of our means of defence against the probable point of danger. This objection applies most powerfully to any detachment of our European force; the whole disposable amount of which throughout India is by no means adequate to the extensive demands of the public service.

"7. If the expedition to Batavia should be prosecuted, even under the most favourable circumstances, Vice-Admiral Rainier, with the strength of his squadron, could scarcely reach the western side of India sooner than the commencement of the month of February, or the close of the month of January, 1801; and the troops employed in concert with his Majesty's ships would necessarily be detained at Batavia for a much longer period of time.

"8. It has been, therefore, with considerable reluctance, and under an irresistible conviction of the necessity of preparing to meet the emergencies which I have described, that I have found myself compelled to suspend a second time the final execution of his Majesty's commands respecting Batavia; and to request his Excellency Vice-Admiral Rainier's assistance in carrying into effect a system of operations adapted to the new and alarming crisis of affairs. Your Excellency will not fail to observe the extreme difficulty of my situation: without any official or private information from his Majesty's Ministers, I am left to conjecture their intentions respecting Egypt from such imperfect advices as have been transmitted to me by the Earl of Elgin, and from my own view of the general state of political events. On the other hand, the declared anxiety of his Majesty's Ministers to obtain possession of Batavia, and the forward state of the expedition prepared for that purpose, strongly inclined me to persevere in an undertaking which promises such advantages, and which had been so auspiciously commenced; but the pursuit of any foreign conquest, however easy or advantageous, must always yield to the necessity of self-defence. The farther suspension of the measures commenced against Batavia will not render the prosecution of that expedition less practicable at a future period; while the absence of our fleet, and of any part of our disposable European force, in any of the probable cases which I have supposed, might be fatal to our existence in India: I have therefore requested his Excellency the Admiral to consider the expedition to Batavia to be postponed to a more favourable opportunity.

"9. Having decided this important point, it became my duty to submit, and I have accordingly submitted, to his Excellency's consideration a general view of the plan which appears to be most eligible for the purpose of enabling us to act offensively or defensively, as the case may require, to frustrate any attempt of the French, either for the relief of their army in Egypt, or for the disturbance of our possessions in India; and to answer the expected demand of his Majesty's Ministers for our coöperation in Egypt during the approaching season.

"10. With a view to meet all these cases as they may arise, it has appeared to me desirable to concentrate the strength of his Majesty's squadron, together with the largest disposable force of Europeans, which my limited means will enable me to spare, at some point from which they may be ready to issue with promptitude and facility either to the western coasts of the peninsula of India, or to the Red Sea, or to any other quarter which the enemy may menace during the north-eastern monsoon. The general security of our possessions in India will be further promoted, if the station chosen for his Majesty's fleet and for the proposed military force should be central in its relation to the whole British empire in India, and should be a point at all times valuable and important to our interests, and necessary to be maintained against any assaults of the enemy. After much attention to the subject, Trincomalé appeared to me, under every aspect of the question, to be the most eligible station for the immediate rendezvous of the strength of his Majesty's squadron, and of

the force which I propose to assemble. It appeared further necessary that the military force to be assembled should be provided with transports and camp equipage, and should be ready to move under the convoy of his Majesty's squadron, wherever the service might require its presence. The force which I propose to collect at Trincomalé will consist of about two thousand* Europeans from his Majesty's infantry; to these I shall add a corps of Native Volunteer Infantry from Bengal, and a suitable proportion of field ordnance.

"11. I have reason to expect that I shall be enabled to assemble this force at Trincomalé on or before the middle of the month of December; and it is my intention that it should be commanded by Colonel Wellesley, and that Colonel Champagné should be the second in command; I have therefore requested Lord Clive to order Colonel Wellesley to proceed to Trincomalé without delay to assume the command of the troops directed to be assembled there.

"12. I have, in consequence of this plan of measures, earnestly requested his Excellency Vice-Admiral Rainier to proceed to Trincomalé without delay; where Colonel Wellesley will, I trust, be prepared to meet him to concert with his Excellency such plans of operation as may appear best suited to the purposes of the armament, and to aid his Excellency by every exertion within his power.

"13. I expect that the troops and stores to be sent from hence will be ready to proceed by sea by

* The 10th, 19th and 80th regiments.

the middle of November; and it is my intention to apprise Captain Malcolm, of his Majesty's ship *Suffolk*, of the change which circumstances have compelled me to make in my measures, and to request him to convoy the transports with troops to Trincomalé, instead of Prince of Wales's Island, as originally arranged between me and the Admiral.

"14. Although my opinion is, that a part of the European force to be employed in concert with his Majesty's squadron will be most conveniently conveyed to the point of active service on board his Majesty's ships, I have judged it to be expedient to engage transports sufficient for the conveyance of the whole European and native force to be assembled at Trincomalé, together with their necessary provisions and supplies. His Excellency Vice-Admiral Rainier and Colonel Wellesley will determine on the spot what proportion of the European troops can be conveniently accommodated on board his Majesty's ships.

"15. I think it necessary to inform your Excellency that I have apprised the Government of the Cape of Good Hope by the *Princess Mary*, now under dispatch, of the state of affairs in India, and that I have requested his Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope to reinforce the King's army in India by the addition of two regiments of infantry, to be landed at Goa or Bombay. I have also suggested to Sir Roger Curtis the expediency of reinforcing his Majesty's squadron in India by as many frigates as he can spare.

"16. To aid the execution of the plan of general defence which I have detailed in this dispatch, it

is necessary that besides the five companies of the 19th regiment, now or lately stationed on the coast of Warriore or elsewhere, (and which I have directed to be dispatched with the least possible delay to Trincomalé,) the remainder of that corps, composing part of the garrison of Colombo, &c., should be sent by your Excellency as soon as possible to the general rendezvous at Trincomalé.

"17. Your Excellency will observe that so long as the armament now preparing shall remain at Trincomalé, the safety of Ceylon will be abundantly secured, and as whenever that armament shall sail from Trincomalé, I have directed the Governor of Fort St. George to dispatch immediately to that post one thousand Europeans, for the purpose of replacing the troops drawn from the protection of the island. I trust that the temporary diminution of the garrison at Colombo, which I have proposed, can be attended with no danger or material inconvenience. It is also of importance to consider that, in whatever the force to be assembled at Trincomalé shall be eventually employed, the safety of Ceylon will be secured by its operations, in proportion as those operations shall conduce to occupy the attention of the enemy.

"18. The five companies of the 19th regiment, now on the coast, will proceed to Negapatam, from whence they will be conveyed to Trincomalé by a vessel which I shall dispatch from Calcutta for the purpose.

"19. I have directed the several articles specified in your Excellency's letter of the 20th of September, to be provided with all possible expedition; and I

trust that the whole will be in readiness to be sent to Trincomalé in the transports now under dispatch for that place. No advices have yet been received from Colombo.

"20. I have the honour to enclose for your Excellency's information a copy of a letter which I directed to be written to Colonel Champagné on the 22nd inst.

"21. I have desired the Government of Bombay to communicate to you in the most direct and expeditious manner any interesting advices which they may receive from Europe or Egypt in the course of the ensuing month or the beginning of December; and I request that your Excellency will transmit the same with all possible dispatch to his Excellency Vice-Admiral Rainier and the Hon. Colonel Wellesley at Trincomalé, as the movements of his Majesty's squadron and the military force to be assembled at that station will necessarily depend, in an essential degree, on the nature of the advices which may be received from Europe, Egypt, or the western side of India. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

(Private and Most Secret.) By Express.

"Fort William, 28th Nov. 1800.

"MY DEAR NORTH,

"I have this moment received your official dispatch of the 22nd of October, and I lose not a moment in acknowledging it in this private form for the pur-

pose of urging you in the most earnest manner to avoid by all possible means any rupture with the Court of Candy. You will perceive, by my late communications to you, the great importance, and, indeed, absolute necessity of our guarding against every circumstance which may in any degree tend to embarrass the general measures of defence, which are of such indispensable urgency in the present exigency; I wish you, therefore, for the present, to suspend all your views at Candy, and to look to no other object than the speedy completion of the armament to assemble at Trincomalé. I remain, &c.,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

In a letter of the Governor-General in council, dated 15th of November, 1800, to Lord Clive, we find the following statement of the intentions of His Excellency in assembling the army at Trincomalé:—

"A considerable British force has been collected in the Mediterranean, originally, perhaps, with a view to coöperation with the Austrian army in Italy, or to an attempt upon the southern coast of France. Those designs, however, may have been relinquished, in consequence of the late events on the continent of Europe. *And it is not impossible that the British troops assembled in the Mediterranean may be employed, in concert with the Turkish army, against the French in Egypt.* In such an event, an expedition from India might prove essentially useful by creating a diversion on the side of Upper Egypt; and the tenor of the Governor-General's private dispatches from the Earl of Elgin tends to confirm the proba-

bility that the unfavourable alteration which has taken place in the state of the war in Europe may induce his Majesty's Ministers to require an expedition from India to Egypt, in the only manner in which such an operation could be undertaken with any prospect of advantage, by combining it with a powerful attack from the side of the Mediterranean. If such a plan of operation should be in the contemplation of his Majesty's Ministers, it may be supposed that their orders on the occasion will soon reach us, and that they will expect the fleets and armies of India to be ready to act against Egypt during the approaching season."

The appointment of Colonel Wellesley to command this force is announced in the same letter in the following terms:—

"The force which the Governor-General proposes to assemble at Trincomalé will consist of about two thousand from his Majesty's infantry; to these will be added a corps of native volunteer infantry from Bengal, and a suitable proportion of field ordnance. We have reason to expect that we shall be enabled to assemble the force at Trincomalé on or before the middle of the month of December; and it is the intention of the Governor-General in council that it should be commanded by Colonel Wellesley, and that Colonel Champagné should be the second in command. We therefore request that your Lordship in council will order Colonel Wellesley to proceed without delay to Trincomalé, and to assume the command of the troops directed to be assembled there. The Governor-General, in consequence of this

plan of measures, has earnestly requested his Excellency Vice-Admiral Rainier to proceed to Trincomalé without delay, where Colonel Wellesley will, we trust, be prepared to meet his Excellency, and to concert such plans of operation as may appear best suited to the purposes of the armament.

"The movements of this force will be governed by future events. We deem it necessary, however, that it should be held at the disposal of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, in such cases as will be specified in the secret and separate instructions of the Governor-General to your Lordship and to Colonel Wellesley; for this reason it is requisite that no officer should be appointed to the command of it, or to serve with it, who shall be senior in rank to Colonel Wellesley or to Colonel Champagné."

Again, in an official letter from the Governor-General in council to Colonel Wellesley, dated on the same day, 15th of November 1800, the following communication is made to Colonel Wellesley:—"The Governor-General in council is pleased to appoint you to the chief command of the above mentioned forces; and Colonel J. Champagné, of his Majesty's 80th regiment, to be second in command of the said forces. You will appoint such military staff as you shall judge necessary, reporting your arrangement in this respect to the Governor-General in council."

Colonel Wellesley immediately proceeded to Trincomalé, and in a short time had everything in preparation. He appointed the following officers as a staff for conducting the duties of the troops:—Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Coleman, 84th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Capper, Captain Scott of the artillery, Captain Fitzpatrick, Captain Ogg, Captain West, 33rd regiment (aide-de-camp). It appears from the following letter, that Colonel Beresford, afterwards celebrated in the Peninsula as Marshal Beresford, expressed a desire of being employed under Colonel Wellesley on this occasion:—

TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BERESFORD.

(Private.)

"Fort William, 24th Dec., 1800.

"Sir,

"The absence of my private secretary in Europe, has necessarily interrupted the regularity of my private correspondence, and rendered me unable to reply, with as much punctuality as I could desire, to the communications of many respectable individuals. Among these I should have taken an early opportunity of acknowledging your letters, and those of Lord John Beresford from Bombay, but they reached me immediately after my return to this presidency, after the conclusion of the settlement of Mysore; when the great pressure of business, which had accumulated during the war, engaged my whole attention. I was therefore compelled to satisfy myself with recommending you and Lord John Beresford to Mr. Duncan's particular attention, and I entertain no doubt that you have found in him a disposition to manifest to you both every degree of respect and regard, compatible with his public duty.

"I am very happy that the course of the public ser-

vice has admitted of my gratifying your desire of being employed under Colonel Wellesley, and I rely with perfect confidence on your zeal and exertion, if the occasion should demand active service.

"It would have given me great pleasure to have had the honour of receiving you at Fort William, and I assure you that during my continuance in India, I shall be always happy to avail myself of any opportunity of proving my respect and good wishes for Lord Waterford, by any mark of attention to you.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, WELLESLEY."

In the month of December, Lord Wellesley resolved that the forces collected at Trincomalé should be employed against the Isles of France and Bourbon; which for several years had been the resort of armed vessels, which carried their depredations into the Indian seas, and inflicted heavy losses upon the East India Company.* His Lordship announced his intention in a letter to Colonel Wellesley, dated 1st December, 1800; observing, "Since the day of my last dispatch to you, I have received advices from England over land, under the date of the 15th of July, at which

* On Monday evening the 28th Oct., 1799, intelligence arrived at Bombay of the capture of the following ships by a French privateer, a little to the northward of the Madras roads: one of the vessels had a very valuable cargo of bale goods:—

The Nabob of Arcot's ship, *Surprize Galley.*
The *Princess Royal,* formerly a Company's ship.
The *Thomas,* do. an extra ship.
The *Joyce,* belonging to Masulipatam.
The *Lord Hobart,* Madras.

It was estimated that the losses sustained by East India merchants,

late period, his Majesty's Ministers do not appear to have entertained any idea of calling upon me to co-operate with any force in Egypt. The prospect of peace with France seemed, however, to be as remote as at any time since the commencement of the war. This state of affairs, in my judgment, forms another powerful argument in favour of the instantaneous attack of the Isle of France." An unexpected obstacle, however, frustrated the plans of the Governor-General, and disappointed the hopes of Colonel Wellesley. The Admiral refused to go to the Mauritius; and what is worse, delayed so long in announcing his resolution, that the Governor-General was deprived of the chance of obtaining the coöperation of Admiral Curtis, commanding at the Cape of Good Hope.

from the depredations of the privateers and ships of the Isles of France and Bourbon, amounted to upwards of two millions sterling.

The following is a list of the ships of the East India Company's service, captured from the season of 1758, to the season 1800.

SHIPS' NAMES.	REMARKS.
1758, Ajax, . . .	Captured by the French.
1761, Walpole, . . .	Captured by the French.
1777, Osterley, . . .	Taken by the French.
1778, Royal George,	Taken by the fleets of France and Spain.
„ Killborough,	
„ Mountstuart,	
„ Gatton,	
„ Godfrey,	
1780, Blanford, . . .	Taken by the French.
„ Fortitude, . . .	ditto.
1792, Princess Royal . .	ditto.
„ Pigot, . . .	ditto.
1794, Triton, . . .	Taken by a French Privateer.
1798, Raymond . . .	Taken by the French.
„ Woodcot . . .	ditto.
1800, Kent, . . .	Captured by a French Privateer.

FROM VICE-ADMIRAL RAINIER, TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.P. &C.

(Most Secret.)

"Intrepid, Prince of Wales's Island,
"20th Dec., 1800.

"My Lord,

"I am concerned to inform your Excellency that I am withheld from giving my concurrence to the expedition projected and so strenuously recommended and urged in your Excellency's most secret letter (B) of the 22nd of October last, as being decidedly of opinion that no such enterprise can, with propriety, be undertaken, unless by the express commands of the King, signified in the usual official manner to your Excellency and the Commanders-in-Chief of his land and sea forces,—as has been exemplified in the three instances that have occurred during my present command, and of others within the compass of my experience.

I flatter myself your Excellency will do me the justice to regard my dissent on this occasion in the light wherein it is stated as proceeding from a sense of duty due to the highest superior authority, although it may not succeed in conciliating your Excellency's acquiescence. I must nevertheless acknowledge the objection I have started, is delivered with much regret, as being the only instance of a difference of sentiment on plans of public service that has arisen within the length of time I have had the honour to correspond with your Excellency for the good of his Majesty's service. I have the honour to be, &c. "Peter Rainier."

Foiled in his plans for the immediate occupation of the Isle of France, yet still believing, from the lateness of the season, that the Home Government had not come to any resolution respecting an expedition to Egypt, Lord Wellesley determined once more to fall back upon the Batavian expedition, for which he held direct orders from the King; and while the preparations were in progress, to demand the aid of Sir Roger Curtis, in conveying a detachment of the force sent against Batavia to the Mauritius, under the command of Colonel Wellesley. Major-General Baird was, in the first instance, to command the whole of the land forces, and, after the occupation of Batavia, the force destined for the Isles of France and Bourbon was to be placed under the command of Colonel Wellesley:—

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO COLONEL, THE HON. A. WELLESLEY.

"Fort William, 24th January, 1801.

"SIR,

"Since the date of my last official dispatch to you, (December 6th, 1800,) I have received advice from his Excellency, Vice-Admiral Rainier, the unfavourable tenor of which has, unfortunately, compelled me to delay the proposed expedition against the Isle of France. This circumstance, combined with the general aspect of affairs in Europe and in India, requires an alteration in the measures which I had proposed to carry into effect, under a different view of our present situation and future prospects.

"I have therefore determined to resume the ex-

pedition against Batavia with the least possible delay; and it is my intention that the whole force now assembled on the island of Ceylon shall be employed on this service. Under these circumstances, I have judged it expedient to appoint Major-General Baird to the chief command of the expedition against Batavia, and to appoint you to be second in command on this expedition.

"Immediately after the reduction of Batavia, a proper garrison having been appropriated to the defence of that place, it is my intention that the remainder of the troops, together with such additional force as it may be advisable to apply to this service from India, should proceed directly from Java to the attack of the Isle of France.

"The chief command of the expedition against the Isle of France will be intrusted to you, with the same powers and under the same instructions with which you were furnished by my dispatch of the 6th of December, 1800.

"Major-General Baird will proceed from hence in the course of a few days for Trincomalé; on his arrival at the port, he will assume the general command of the troops to be employed in the first instance against Batavia.

"When you shall proceed from Batavia to the attack of the Isle of France, you will act under my instructions of the 6th of December, in the same manner as if the expedition against that place had taken effect in the month of December, 1800, as far as those instructions may be applicable to the actual circumstances of the case.

"The details connected with the resumed expedition against the Isle of France will be communicated to you hereafter. Vice-Admiral Rainier will communicate to you my dispatches, addressed to him under this date. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLESLEY."

"Colonel the Hon. A. Wellesley."

Lord Wellesley prepared the most ample instructions for the guidance of General Baird and Colonel Wellesley, suited to every conceivable state of circumstances; and addressed the following letter to the Governor-General of Batavia:—

(Inclosed in a letter from the Most Noble the Governor-General to Vice-Admiral Rainier.)

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &C.
OF BATAVIA.

"SIR,

"Your Excellency is apprised of the measures which the conduct of the persons who exercise the powers of government in Holland compelled his Britannic Majesty to adopt, with respect to the Dutch colonies in the West Indies.

"The same considerations demand that his Majesty should deprive those persons of the support which they derive in the prosecution of their unjustifiable designs, from the resources of the Dutch possessions in the Island of Java.

"In obedience to the express commands of his Majesty, I have accordingly empowered his Excellency Vice-Admiral Rainier, Commander-in-Chief

of his Majesty's naval forces, in the East Indies, Major-General Baird,* commander of the land forces of his Majesty, and the English East India Company, employed on this expedition, the Hon. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, second in command of the said land forces, and Richard Comyns Birch, Esq. Civil Commissioner from the British Government in India, to proceed with an armament to Batavia, for the purpose of executing his Majesty's commands with regard to that colony.

"His Majesty, however, apprised of the sentiments and dispositions of the majority of the principal officers and inhabitants of the Dutch possessions in the Island of Java, is anxious that the measures which the honour and interests of his crown and people compel him to pursue with regard to the colony under your Excellency's government, should be carried into effect without prejudice to its happiness and prosperity, and without injury to the persons and property of its inhabitants.

"In order to fulfil these gracious and benevolent intentions of his Majesty, his naval and military commanders, previously to the employment of the powerful force placed under their command, will invite your Excellency and all the officers and inhabitants of the Dutch possessions in the Island of Java to follow the wise and salutary example of the colonies of Surinam, Demerara, and Berbice; and with this view, I have the honour to enclose

* It was originally Brigadier-General Champagné. The alterations in the draft are in red ink.

authentic copies of the terms under which those opulent colonies have been admitted to the benefits of his Majesty's protection.

His Majesty's naval and military commanders and the Civil Commissioner of this Government will present to your Excellency Articles of Capitulation for the Dutch possessions in the Island of Java, containing the terms on which his Majesty offers the same favour to this great and respectable colony.

Your Excellency will observe that the terms proposed by his Majesty are calculated to rescue the inhabitants of the dominions over which you preside from the tyranny and oppression of France, and to secure to them, under the powerful protection of his Majesty's arms, the just administration of their laws, the free exercise of their religion, safety and extension of domestic and foreign commerce, and a full participation in the security, happiness, and prosperity enjoyed by the British possessions in the East Indies.

His Majesty's naval and military commanders and the Civil Commissioner of this Government have been vested by me, under his Majesty's commands, with full powers on the part of his Britannic Majesty for the adjustment of all matters of importance with your Excellency; and your Excellency may be assured that you will find the most cordial disposition on my part to extend to the inhabitants of Batavia and its dependencies every practicable benefit and advantage under his Majesty's protection.

"Your Excellency's wisdom will lead you to form a just estimate of the value of his Majesty's most gra-

cious offer, and will also suggest to you that any resistance to his just and salutary views must ultimately prove injurious to the real interests and welfare of the colony.

"I have the honour to be, with great consideration, Sir, your Excellency's most faithful and obedient servant, (Signed) WELLESLEY."

The biographer of Sir David Baird has given an account of an interview between Lord Wellesley and General Baird at this period, from which it would seem as if Lord Wellesley had been in some measure coerced into compliance with that officer's desire to be appointed to the command of the enterprise. It appears that as soon as the first rumours of an expedition to Batavia had reached him, General Baird wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clarke, soliciting the command. For reasons which have already been sufficiently explained, his request was not complied with; and General Baird obtained leave to proceed from his command at Dinapore, to pay his respects to the Governor-General at Barrackpore. General Baird obtained an audience, and, we are informed, a long and somewhat *stormy* conversation followed:—

"Truth, the historian's only guide," observes Mr. Hook, "compels us to state, that this remonstrance, had, if possible, a more violent effect upon the noble Marquess than even General Baird's former representation, upon a similar point, had upon General Harris; and, in a high state of irritation, his Lordship told General Baird (misunderstanding his intentions) that,

if he meant to ask him any questions as to the destination of the expedition, he very plainly told him he would not give him an answer. General Baird expostulated—assured the Marquess that he had no desire to know *where the expedition was going;* all he wished to know was, who was to command it, as he felt it his duty to press his own claim as a Major-General on the staff, appointed from home, in preference to that of a regimental officer of inferior rank (Colonel Wellesley). The conversation was warm and animated and much was said on both sides, until at length General Baird prepared to take his leave, saying—"I suppose then, my Lord, I am to consider your Lordship's answer final, and that I am *not* to command" (or to be employed)"on this expedition?" The Marquess, who had by this time overcome the violence of his first excitement, desired General Baird to remain in Calcutta until he heard from him again, and on the next day the General received a note from Sir Alured Clarke, desiring him to wait on the Governor-General immediately, which of course he did; when his Excellency informed him that he had finally arranged matters so that *he*, General Baird, should command the expedition. The object of this expedition proved to be, as the General had heard, the capture of the Islands of Java and Mauritius. On the 5th February, 1801, General Baird received orders to proceed to Trincomalé to assume the chief command; the Hon. Colonel Wellesley being second in the command."*

These expostulations could not possibly have had

* Hook's Life of Sir David Baird.

reference to Lord Wellesley's *offer* of the command of the Batavian expedition to Colonel Wellesley on the 13th of May, 1800; because, in making that offer, the Governor-General did not anticipate that it would be accepted, his words being, "The object of this letter is to propose to you a situation which I think it would be unjust not to submit to your option, *although I entertain considerable doubts whether you will think it eligible with a view to your individual interests*;" and secondly, because, on the 31st of that same month of May, Colonel Wellesley declined to accept the command; the force being, it is material to remark, limited to six hundred Europeans and six hundred native soldiers.

Mr. Hook remarks that, "as if by some fatality, the claims of General Baird and Colonel Wellesley were brought into collision." But this observation cannot apply to the arrangements made up to the month of October; for Colonel Champagné, with the rank of Brigadier-General who was appointed to command the expedition to Batavia, and not Colonel Wellesley who had refused the command, was in fact, General Baird's competitor. The gallant hero of Seringapatam could not therefore have encountered any hostile influence from Colonel Wellesley; and the Governor-General's feelings toward his brother could have presented no obstacle in the way of General Baird's advancement.

But it may be said that, from Mr. Hook's statement of the interview between Lord Wellesley and General Baird, which seems to have occurred in the beginning of 1801, General Baird had just ground

for entertaining a jealousy of Colonel Wellesley, who was then at the head of the imposing force assembled at Trincomalé. As we have had occasion to remark more than once, General Baird's feelings of jealousy were very easily awakened. That Lord Wellesley meditated any favouritism toward his brother in this matter, facts, we think, abundantly disprove; although it is unquestionable that Lord Wellesley did upon this, and upon every favourable opportunity that presented itself, exert all his influence to bring his gallant relative into notice, and to secure for him distinction. On the 5th of February, 1801, General Baird received orders to proceed to Ceylon to assume the chief command of the troops assembled at Trincomalé. The subjoined extract from a letter written by Lord Wellesley to Colonel Wellesley on the 21st of December, 1800, will show that however unwilling the Governor-General was to make any premature disclosures as to his plans in the delicate and trying emergency in which he was placed, in reality he was not insensible to the claims of General Baird, and absolutely had destined him to a chief command in the expected expedition to Egypt:—

"It is necessary that I should apprise you that, if circumstances should ultimately determine me to attempt the expedition to Egypt, that attempt will require so large a force as to occasion the necessity of my employing some one or two of his Majesty's general officers in India. Under such circumstances, you will judge whether your best post would not be Mysore, after you shall *have afforded*

me your assistance in collecting the army, and in giving me your opinion with respect to the general plan of operations. Either Sir James Craig or General Baird, or both, would probably be employed on the service against Egypt; and I apprehend that, in neither of these cases, your situation would be very eligible. I am, however, sanguine enough to form a confident expectation that you will find it practicable to proceed to the accomplishment of my favourite plan,* and that I shall hear good news from you in the month of March."

On the day following General Baird's appointment, he received the subjoined hasty letter from Lord Wellesley:—

MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD.

"Fort William, February 6th, 1801.

"My dear General,

"I was upon the point of sealing my instructions, and of dispatching them to you by express this morning, when I received dispatches over land from England,† which will probably render it neces-

* The Expedition to the Mauritius.

†MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS, TO MARQUESS WELLESLEY, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"Downing Street, 6th October, 1800.

"My Lord,

"By the private letter I received from your Lordship, No. 25, dated the 5th of March last, and the communications I have since had with Major-General Stuart, I am apprised that the subject of annoying the French army in Egypt, from the Red Sea, has been under your consideration. For that reason, and because I concur in your Lordship's sentiments, as stated in the letter above-mentioned, I feel it the less necessary to enter into any details in this dispatch, which cannot,

sary for me to make some essential variations in the objects of the armament which I have equipped. No change, however, can take place which will deprive you of a respectable and active command. As much time would be lost by your returning to Calcutta, I desire that you will remain on board the *Phœnix*, and urge the captain to make every necessary preparation for sailing. In the course of this day I hope to be able to decide the precise nature of such variations as the recent intelligence from Europe will require in my plans. I therefore entertain little

indeed, be extended to any great length, as it is to be forwarded over land.

"I shall therefore confine myself to shortly stating to his Lordship, that Sir Ralph Abercrombie has received his Majesty's orders to proceed up the Mediterranean; and by an attack on Alexandria and the coast, to coöperate with the Turkish army assembling in Syria, in whatever plan may be concerted with them for expelling the French army from Egypt; and it is thought expedient that a force should also be sent from India, to act in such manner as may appear conducive to that essential object, from the side of the Red Sea. With this view, Captain Sir Home Popham, with a proper squadron, will be immediately sent into that sea, taking with him a regiment from the Cape of Good Hope. His first rendezvous will be the Port of Mocha. I enclose for your information, the letter I have written to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, on the subject of the expedition under his command; and I am to signify to your Lordship his Majesty's pleasure that a force of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand native infantry is to be sent from India to the proposed place of rendezvous in the Red Sea, with as little delay as possible, to coöperate with Sir Home Popham in the object of his instructions. The command of these troops should be given to some active and intelligent officer; and care should be taken that they be furnished with every necessary requisite for such a service.

"I have thought it right to send a copy of this dispatch to the Governors of Fort St. George and Bombay. To the latter it is necessary, because Bombay is the most proper place from whence to send the proposed force; but I have thought it likewise necessary to send it to

doubt that you will receive your sailing orders within eight-and-forty hours after the receipt of this dispatch. I have the honour to be, my dear General, with great esteem, your faithful servant,

"WELLESLEY."

The final change in the Governor-General's plans is communicated in the following note to General Baird:—

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD.

"Calcutta, 10th February, 1801, 3, P. M.

"MY DEAR GENERAL,

"Lord Wellesley desires me to inform you that your new instructions are nearly ready. I am in

Fort St. George, in case, upon a full consideration of the places where the force upon the two coasts is at present stationed, it should appear to that presidency expedient to make any new arrangement of any part of the army under their presidency, in order to enable the Bombay Government to detach the requisite force from their coast without any real inconvenience to the territories under their own immediate charge. I have directed those two presidencies to proceed in making those preparations without delay; and even to carry these orders into execution without waiting for your Lordship's directions, if they are ready in other respects.

"If nothing unforeseen occurs to prevent or retard it, I hope that the armament under Sir Ralph Abercrombie will reach the coast of Egypt in the month of December; and that Sir Home Popham may arrive in the Gulf of Arabia in the month of February. It is therefore earnestly recommended that the forces from India may join him as soon after as possible: for this reason it will be desirable that you should not wait till the troops are all collected, if it will save time to forward them in two or three distinct detachments.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"HENRY DUNDAS."

"His Excellency Marquess Wellesley."

hopes that they will be dispatched either to-night or early to-morrow. The overland packet from England has made it necessary for his Lordship to change his whole plan; and you are now to assist Sir Ralph Abercrombie in driving the French from Egypt instead of seizing on Batavia. I am, my dear General, yours most faithfully, WM. KIRKPATRICK."

In a letter to Vice-Admiral Rainier, of the same date, (10th of February, 1801,) Lord Wellesley again adverts to the importance of the Mauritius to England in the season of hostilities: "I consider the French Islands to be an outpost to the army in Egypt, and apprised as I am, by most recent private dispatches from England, of the determination of the French to maintain their position in Egypt at all hazards, I am persuaded that if war should continue they will endeavour to avail themselves of the possession of the Isle of France in the prosecution of their plans of forming a permanent establishment in Egypt. The primary object of Great Britain in the further prosecution of the war must be to expel the French from Egypt, and if the object be prosecuted with vigour, perseverance, and united exertion from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, I entertain a confident expectation of its accomplishment. The Isle of France in the hands of the British power would have proved a most useful point of communication between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea, and would have greatly facilitated the transport of troops and provisions (particularly salt provisions so deficient in India) to any army established

at Suez or Cosseir. My regret, therefore, on account of the failure of my plan stated to your Excellency on the 22nd of October, 1800, continues undiminished, nor is my anxiety to resume the prosecution of that plan on the first favourable occasion in any degree abated."

Colonel the Hon. Arthur Wellesley having received from the Government of Madras, copies of the Secretary of State's dispatch directing the immediate assembling a force for an expedition to Egypt, for the purpose of accelerating operations, judged it expedient forthwith to remove the troops under his command from Trincomalé to Bombay, without waiting for the Governor-General's orders; an additional motive for taking on himself the responsibility of so decisive a step being, that it was absolutely necessary to supply the deficiency of provisions required for the troops. The Hon. F. North, Governor of Ceylon, disapproved of Colonel Wellesley's resolution to proceed to Bombay; but the Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon concurred in urgently recommending him to sail without loss of time toward the rendezvous pointed out by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas. Colonel Wellesley explained in the fullest manner * his motives in proceeding with the army to Bombay; and after a consideration of all the circumstances, the Governor-General expressed his approbation of the proceeding. "I therefore," observes his Excellency, "entirely approve of the alacrity and promptitude which you have manifested in moving the troops towards the place of rendezvous." The

* *Vide* Wellington's Dispatches, vol. i.

intelligence of Major-General Baird's appointment to take the command of the troops hitherto under Colonel Wellesley's orders, reached the Colonel on the 21st of February, on board H.M.S. *Suffolk*, commanded by Captain Malcolm, (subsequently Vice-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, G.C.B.) On his arrival at Bombay, Colonel Wellesley exerted himself with his accustomed energy in the equipment of the army, and in a short time had every arrangement completed.

In a letter dated Bombay, 23rd of March, 1801, addressed to the Hon. Henry Wellesley (now Lord Cowley), Colonel Wellesley expresses his feelings on General Baird's appointment in the following terms: "I have received your note of the 3rd of March, but none of your other letters which you say that you have written to me. I hope that you received those which I wrote to you while you were in England, giving an account of how we were going on in this country. I enclosed them to the Doctor,* and desired him to destroy those which should arrive subsequent to your departure, on your return to this country; so that some of them, written lately, you will probably never see. I was very anxious about you, as you must have come from the Cape in the track of the French privateers homeward bound, and you were longer on your passage than we had reason to expect you would be. I have written a long letter to Government this day, about my departure from Ceylon, which I hope will explain everything. Whether it does or not, I shall always consider these expeditions

* The Hon. and Rev. Dr. Gerald Wellesley.

as the most unfortunate circumstances for me, in every point of view, that could have occurred, and as such I shall always lament them.

"I was at the top of the tree in this country; the governments of Forts St. George and Bombay, which I have served, placed unlimited confidence in me, and I had received from both strong and repeated marks of their approbation. Before I quitted the Mysore country, I arranged the plan for taking possession of the ceded districts, which was done without striking a blow; and another plan for conquering Wynaad, and re-conquering Malabar, which I am informed has succeeded without loss on our side. But this supercession has ruined all my prospects, founded upon any service that I may have rendered. Upon this point I must refer you to the letters written to me and to the governor of Fort St. George, in May last, when an expedition to Batavia was in contemplation; and to those written to the governments of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Ceylon; and to the Admiral, Colonel Champagné and myself, when the troops were assembled in Ceylon. I then ask you, has there been any change whatever of circumstances that was not expected when I was appointed to the command? If there has not, (and no one can say there has, without doing injustice to the Governor-General's foresight,) my supercession must have been occasioned, either by my own misconduct, or by an alteration of the sentiments of the Governor-General.

"I have not been guilty of robbery or murder, and he has certainly changed his mind; but the world, which is always good-natured towards those whose

affairs do not exactly prosper, will not, or rather does not, fail to suspect that both, or worse, have been the occasion of my being banished, like General Kray,* to my estate in Hungary. I did not look, and did not wish, for the appointment which was given to me, and I say that it would probably have been more proper to give it to somebody else; but when it was given to me, and a circular written to the governments upon the subject, it would have been fair to allow me to hold it till I did something to deserve to lose it. I put private considerations out of the question, as they ought and have had no weight in causing either my original appointment or my supercession. I am not quite satisfied with the manner in which I have been treated by government upon the occasion. However, I have lost neither my health, spirits, nor temper in consequence thereof.

"But it is useless to write any more upon a subject of which I wish to retain no remembrance whatever."

This letter appears among the collection of the "Duke of Wellington's Dispatches," edited by Colonel Gurwood. It is but proper to add, that notwithstanding the feeling of disappointment at his brother's arrangements with reference to the command of the Indian army destined for Egypt, expressed above, Colonel Wellesley never for a moment abated his exertions for the success of the expedition, nor contemplated withholding his coöperation from General Baird.

On the 25th of March, 1801, having received ad-

* Kray, the gallant Austrian general, who made so noble a stand at Ulm, and was so ungenerously and unwisely superseded by his government.

vices from Muscat, that Sir Ralph Abercrombie had commenced operations, and required immediate co-operation, in a letter to the Hon. H. Wellesley, the Colonel writes, "General Baird is not yet come. They tell me he will find it difficult to get round Ceylon, and the Lord knows when he will arrive! I therefore intend to go off immediately, and to commence operations in the Red Sea with the troops now there, if General Baird should not be on board any of the ships now in the offing." It was Colonel Wellesley's intention to sail next day;* but on the night of the 25th he was suddenly seized with an intermittent fever, apparently induced by over-exertion, followed by a cutaneous eruption, which obliged him to submit to a course of nitrous baths.

The following frank and manly letter is highly honourable both to the writer and the gallant officer to whom it was addressed:—

COLONEL THE HON. A. WELLESLEY, TO MAJOR GENERAL BAIRD.

"Bombay, 9th April, 1801.

"DEAR GENERAL,

"The first circumstance I have to detail to you is the state of my health, which is indeed the cause of this letter. I have had no fever since I saw you; but I am sorry to say that the breaking out of which I complained is worse than it was, and has become so bad as to induce Mr. Scott to order me to begin a course of nitrous baths. This remedy, exclusive of

* The ship *Susannah*, in which Colonel Wellesley was to have sailed, was lost on her voyage!

the disease itself, is sufficient to induce me to be desirous to wait, at least, rather longer than the *Susannah* will, if not to give over all thoughts of joining you.

"I do this, I assure you, with reluctance, notwithstanding I think it very probable that I shall soon hear of your being recalled; however, considering that circumstance, and the bad state of my body, and the remedy which I am obliged to use, I should be mad if I were to think of going at this moment. *As I am writing upon this subject, I will freely acknowledge that my regret at being prevented from accompanying you, has been greatly increased by the kind, candid, and handsome manner in which you have behaved towards me; and I will confess as freely, not only that I did not expect such treatment, but that my wishes, before you arrived, regarding going upon the expedition, were directly the reverse of what they are at this moment.* I need not enter farther upon this subject, than to entreat you will not attribute my stay to any other motive than that to which I have above assigned it; and to inform you, that as I know what has been said and expected by the world in general, I propose, as well for my own credit as for yours, to make known to my friends and to yours, not only the distinguished manner in which you have behaved towards me, but the causes which have prevented my demonstrating my gratitude, by giving you every assistance in the arduous service which you have to conduct. I shall stay here as long as the season will permit, and then I propose to go round to Madras; and if I cannot get well, I believe I must try a cold climate.

"I enclose the memorandum upon your operations, and I refer you to my public letter for other matters. Wishing you every success, believe me, &c.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"Major-General Baird."

TO THE SHERIFF OF MECCA, IMAUM OF SANA, SULTAUN OF ADEN.

(Written 19th of March, 1801.)

"THE friendship and harmony which, during a long course of years, has firmly subsisted between the Sublime Porte and his Britannic Majesty is well known to you. That friendship has been still more closely cemented by the faithless conduct of the French towards the Ottoman Porte. The French are now become the enemy of both states. That perfidious people, disregarding all the obligations of friendship and the stipulations of treaties, has sent forth its armies to invade the peaceful provinces of Egypt, the acknowledged territory of the Ottoman Porte. Without urging the slightest pretext to justify this outrage, but, on the contrary, professing sentiments of perfect friendship and regard, these disturbers of the peace of nations have carried war and desolation into the most fruitful provinces of the empire, the venerated sanctuary of the Mahomedan faith. They have attempted to establish their authority upon the ruins of your religion. They have now unequivocally declared their resolution to maintain by force what they have acquired by the violation of every

principle of public faith, and of every maxim of civil and religious obligation. I entertain too high an opinion of your attachment to the interests and independence of the parent state, and of your zeal for the support of the religion which you revere, to believe that you can have witnessed, without indignation and alarm, this unexampled instance of the inordinate ambition and perfidious conduct of the French nation.

"I am persuaded you cannot view, with unconcern, the ambitious and encroaching spirit of the French nation, which, unresisted, must inevitably complete the downfall of the Mahomedan authority, not only in Egypt, but in all the neighbouring territories, and must establish the supremacy of the French power in the most sacred seats of the Mahomedan religion.

"It has been the uniform policy of the French to endeavour to disarm the resentment of the people, whose country they have invaded, by professing the most amicable intentions, and by pretending that the sole motive of their actions is to mitigate the tyranny of oppressive governments; to establish the independence of oppressed nations, and to secure to mankind the full enjoyment of civil and religious rights. By these insidious arts, the French have succeeded in reducing to their absolute power many of the states of Europe, which they have invaded and ravaged without the slightest pretext or provocation.

"They have employed the same means to reconcile the inhabitants of Egypt to their unprovoked violence and unjust usurpation; and they will endeavour

to practise the same perfidious policy for the purpose of subjugating the remaining dependencies of the Ottoman Empire in Arabia.

"They will labour to impress you with a belief of their amicable disposition, and of their regard for the sanctity of your religion. Under the pretence of establishing your independence, they will endeavour to subvert your government, and to erect their tyrannous misrule upon its ruins.

"With the most friendly solicitude, I warn you to take example from the unhappy fate of other states, and to beware of yielding to the insidious professions of a nation which has forfeited all pretensions to credit by a systematic contempt of the obligations of public faith and of the law of nations, especially by their unprovoked and unjustifiable invasion of the province of Egypt. You have no other security for the preservation of your independence, and for the maintenance of your rights, than by a determination to resist the force and frustrate the frauds of the French nation. You are called upon, therefore, by every motive of interest and self-preservation, by every principle of national honour and of religious attachment, to unite your efforts with the combined exertions of the British power and of the Ottoman state for the expulsion of the French from Egypt. With a view to second the operations of the combined army, I have detached a considerable force of European and native troops from India, to unite in a joint effort for the expulsion of the common enemy. This measure, while it favours the success of the operations to be carried on from the side of Syria

and the Mediterranean, is calculated to provide for the security of the Mahomedan possessions on the Arabian side of the Red Sea.

"As the existence of the Mahomedan dominion in Arabia, and the interests of the Mahomedan religion, are obviously concerned in the expulsion of the French, I cannot doubt that you will employ all the resources of your country and the influence of your authority in promoting the success of the projected enterprise. I am the more induced to rely upon your exertions by the report which has been made to me by Captain Wilson and by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, who were lately deputed, under my orders, to the Red Sea, of the friendly disposition which you entertain towards the British nation.

"I trust you will employ every effort to procure and to facilitate the dispatch of provisions and of stores to the troops employed in the Red Sea; that you will furnish a reinforcement of the troops of your country to act with the British army, and that you will encourage the several chiefs and states in Arabia and in Egypt to make common cause against the common enemy of your nation and of the British power.

"Major-General Baird, the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian forces, or a proper person deputed by him, will have the honour to deliver to you this letter, and will present to you a few articles, the produce of Europe and of this country, as a token of my friendship and regard. I request your favourable attention to the suggestions and applications which may be made on my part for your assistance in pro-

moting the object of the expedition. For the rest, believe me anxious for accounts of your welfare, &c.

"WELLESLEY."

In the following letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, which is not included in the printed collection of the Marquess Wellesley's dispatches, the Governor-General enters into a review of the foregoing events, and states the considerations which influenced him in each of the movements which he directed with reference to the expeditions fitted out against Batavia, the Mauritius, and Egypt:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY DUNDAS, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

(Official and secret.)

"Fort William, 7th March, 1801.

"SIR,

"1. On the 29th of October, 1800, I transmitted to you by the *Princess Mary*, copies of my dispatches to Vice-Admiral Rainier, dated the 22nd of October, 1800, and to Sir Roger Curtis, dated the 24th of the same month.

"2. I trust that those documents have already been received, and that they have afforded you a sufficiently distinct view of the measures which I thought proper to adopt in consequence of the advices received in India on the 15th of October, 1800, announcing the success of the French in Piedmont, and their strength in Egypt.

"3. In this dispatch, forwarded over land, I shall content myself with recapitulating the general tenor of my orders and arrangements carried into execution in the month of October, 1800; and of those since adopted in consequence of the receipt of your dispatches of the 6th of that month.

"4. In the month of May, and at the commencement of June, 1800, I had taken the requisite measures at the port of Madras, for the execution of his Majesty's commands relative to Batavia; but towards the close of the month of June, and in the first week of July, the tenor of the advices received over land, respecting the rupture of the convention of El Arish and the Grand Vizier's defeat, induced me to suspend the expedition against Batavia for the purpose of securing, in every possible contingency, the aid of Vice-Admiral Rainier's squadron against the French in the Red Sea.

"5. Subsequent advices induced me in the month of September to resume the preparations against Batavia at the port of Calcutta; but the advices received over land, under date the 20th of July, and 10th of August, 1800, containing the details of the battle of Marengo, of the armistice which ensued between Austria and France, and of the strength of General Kleber's army in Egypt, determined me again to suspend the expedition against Batavia; which could not have been prosecuted without removing for a considerable time the main strength of his Majesty's squadron, together with a proportion of our European land-forces, beyond the limits of any possible operation against the French in the Indian Seas or Arabian Gulf.

Secondly.—In the month of October, 1800, I ordered the force, noted in the margin,* to assemble at Trincomalé, where I calculated it would be collected about the middle of December; and I requested Vice-Admiral Rainier to repair to the same station with the strength of his squadron. I considered Trincomalé to be a central point from which the army might proceed with facility to meet any exigency. Thirdly.—I proposed that this force (together with any subsequent augmentation which I might be enabled to make to it,) should be applied to either of the following objects, according to the state of future events and contingencies:—To proceed up the Red Sea in order to coöperate with any British force which might eventually be employed against the French in Egypt, from the side of the Mediterranean. To proceed to any point that the French might menace in India, especially on the western side of the peninsula. In pursuance of this plan, a force was also directed to be held in readiness at the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, subject to the orders of the officer commanding the troops assembled in Ceylon. This force was ordered to repair to such position as that officer might eventually appoint with a view to either of the stated objects. Fourthly.—Intelligence which I had received had satisfied me that a blow might now be struck with nearly a cer-

* His Majesty's 10th, 19th, and 80th regiments of foot; Bengal volunteers; one battalion of about one thousand fireloeks; artillery from Bengal, thirty-eight Europeans, exclusive of commissioned officers, and forty-six *Golundauze* (artillerymen of native troops); the remaining proportion of artillery to be from Ceylon.

tainty of success against the Isles of France and Bourbon. It was therefore my intention (if the state of my accounts from Europe and Egypt should leave me at liberty to make such an attempt at the close of the month of December, 1800, and if the Admiral and the Commander of the military forces should judge the plan to be practicable), that either the whole or a sufficient proportion of the troops assembled at Ceylon, should proceed about the 25th of December, directly to the Isle of France, and should prosecute a plan which I had received from Mr. Charles Stokes, who had been taken prisoner in the month of June, 1800, and had resided at Port Louis for a considerable time; and having been liberated had furnished me with accurate plans of the defences of the Mauritius, drawn from actual survey and measurement: Mr Stokes had also reported to me with the most minute detail, the strength and condition of the garrison of the French islands.

"6. In the expectation of the continuance of the war with France, I considered the reduction of the Mauritius to be the most useful service which could be effected with a view of embarrassing France in the prosecution of any enterprise, either for the disturbance of our possessions in India, or for the relief of her army in Egypt; while on the other hand, the possession of the Mauritius appeared to me to promise powerful advantages to Great Britain, in any effort which might be meditated for the expulsion of the French from Egypt. In this view the reduction of the Isle of France appeared to me to be an object of more pressing exigency, and more intimately connect-

ed with the actual security of our interests in India than the possession of Batavia, however valuable and important in many other respects.

"7. That division of the armament which was prepared at the Port of Calcutta, arrived at Trincomalé on the 14th of December; a corps of Europeans under Lieutenant-Colonel Beresford, ordered from Bombay, arrived at Point De Galle in the last week of December; and Colonel Wellesley arrived from Mysore at Trincomalé, and assumed the command of the whole force assembled in Ceylon at the same period of time.

"8. *My intention was in the first instance to avail myself of the eminent talents of Colonel Wellesley in collecting the forces, and in conducting the arrangements and supplies of the armament, and ultimately to employ Colonel Wellesley in such a station in the command of the troops, as future circumstances might render advisable.*

"9. My primary object in assembling this armament has been to be prepared to meet any eventual demand from England with a view to the expulsion of the French from Egypt; but the advanced period of the year, at the close of December, 1800, led me to conclude that no such operation was in contemplation. I had received no advices from Europe or Egypt which could warrant an expectation that any British force would be ordered to act in Egypt during the approaching season: on the other hand, my advices received in December did not justify any apprehension that the French could make an effort in the Indian Seas, or in the Arabian Gulf, during that

period of time; but various circumstances concurred to induce me to think that no termination of the war between France and Great Britain was to be expected within the course of the approaching season. I therefore resolved to prosecute, in the first instance, the expedition against the French islands; and having dispatched letters to the Vice-Admiral on the 22nd and 29th of October, 1800, I expected that my suggestion would have reached him in due season to have received his timely and effectual coöperation towards the close of December, 1800.

"10. No reply, however, from his Excellency to my dispatches of the 22nd and 29th of October, 1800, reached me during the months of November or December. On the 14th of January I received dispatches from his Excellency, dated from Prince of Wales's Islands on the 20th of December, (but not delivered to my messenger till the 24th,) signifying his Excellency's opinion that the want of his Majesty's express commands positively precluded his Excellency from coöperating in the proposed expedition to the Isle of France. I transmit to you copies of his Excellency's dispatch, and my reply to it, containing the grounds officially stated of the Vice-Admiral's opinion, as well as of my sentiments upon that unfortunate occasion.

"11. If his Excellency's dissent had been communicated to me without delay, I should have retained the power of prosecuting the expedition against the Isle of France, under the strongest probability of success between the first week of the month of January, and the commencement of February, even inde-

pendently of any assistance from the Vice-Admiral; and I am confident that I should still have been able to have executed his Majesty's commands of the 6th of October, 1800, under all the advantages which the possession of the Isles of France and Bourbon would have afforded in the prosecution of operations against the French in the Red Sea.

"12. The communication of his Excellency's dissent having been so long delayed, I was reduced to the necessity of abandoning at that critical juncture the expedition against the Isle of France.

"13. But as the general tenor of my advices from Europe and Egypt continued at the commencement of February to warrant a confidence that our possessions in India were in no immediate danger from any enterprise of the enemy, and as the further advance of the season had still more diminished the probability of orders from his Majesty, directing me to coöperate in an attempt to expel the French from Egypt, I took into consideration the most eligible mode of employing the forces actually assembled on the Island of Ceylon.

"14. The result of this consideration at the commencement of February, determined me to apply the whole of the military force assembled at Ceylon, first, in executing his Majesty's orders relative to Batavia during the conclusion of the month of February, and the commencement of March, being the season most favourable to that enterprise, and most adverse to any attempt against the Isle of France: secondly, after possession should have been obtained of Batavia and a sufficient garrison should have been established

for its maintenance, I intended that a proportion of the armament should proceed from Batavia to effect the reduction of the Isles of France and Bourbon, at a period of the season which would favour such an attempt.

"15. In resuming the expedition against Batavia, I expected the ready acquiescence of Vice-Admiral Rainier; but I determined to rely exclusively on the coöperation of Sir Roger Curtis in the prosecution of the proposed attack against the French Islands, and accordingly I forwarded the necessary applications to the Cape of Good Hope, under date the 26th of January, 1801. It is proper in this place to remind you that in the month of October, 1800, I had applied to the government of the Cape of Good Hope for a reinforcement of his Majesty's troops in India to the extent of two regiments, which might have been expected to arrive at Goa or Bombay in the month of March, 1801.

"16. I appointed Major-General Baird to the chief command of the resumed expedition against Batavia, and Colonel Wellesley second in command. Colonel Wellesley was directed eventually to proceed from Batavia in the chief command of the expedition against the French Islands.

"17. Under this arrangement, Major-General Baird had actually proceeded from Calcutta, and had embarked on the ship which was to carry him to Trincomalé; and I was on the point of dispatching my final instructions to him, when, on the 6th of February, 1801, I received your overland dispatches under date of the 6th of October, 1800.

"18. A question now arose whether the force to be employed in the Red Sea should be limited to the amount stated in his Majesty's commands, signified to me in your dispatch of the 6th of October, 1800, or whether the largest disposable force should be applied to prosecute the important objects in his Majesty's contemplation.

"19. In limiting the force to be sent from India to the number of one thousand Europeans and two thousand native troops, it appeared to me that you had proceeded on an opinion either that a more considerable force might not be disposable in India at the period when your dispatches would reach me, or that a larger force could not be supplied from India on the shores of the Red Sea during the approaching season.

"20. My instructions of the 10th of February to General Baird, and my dispatch of the 28th of February, 1801, to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, will explain to you the state of both branches of that question, and will apprise you of the extent of the means which I had prepared, with a view of meeting the several contingencies enumerated in the preceding paragraphs of this dispatch.

"21. After the fullest consideration, I judged it to be most conformable to the spirit and object of his Majesty's commands to apply, without a moment of delay, the whole disposable force collected on the Island of Ceylon and at Bombay, in an united effort to coöperate with his Majesty's forces, and with those of the Ottoman Porte, in the service ordered by your dispatches of the 6th of October, 1800.

"22. Under my instructions of the 10th of February, 1801, Major-General Baird sailed on the 14th of that month from Calcutta to join Colonel Wellesley at Trincomalé. But on the 3rd inst. I received a dispatch under date the 9th of February, from Colonel Wellesley, by which it appears that having received through the Government of Fort George copies of your dispatches addressed to me under date the 6th of October, and adverting to the tenor of my instructions, he proposed to sail toward the place of rendezvous in the Red Sea, on the 14th of February, without waiting for further orders from me.

"23. The force which Colonel Wellesley has taken with him, is noted in the margin.* You will observe that he has been under the necessity of leaving the 19th regiment at Ceylon, in consequence of a deficiency of tonnage. This deficiency I expected Vice-Admiral Rainier to supply by the aid of his Majesty's ships, but his Excellency had not reached Ceylon on the 9th of February; my last accounts of him state that he was at Prince of Wales's Island on the 31st of January, and that part of his squadron had suffered from sickness in the cruise off Batavia. From his Excellency himself I have received no advices which can justify any conjecture with respect to his future operations. I trust, however, that I have provided, independently of his Excellency's assistance, sufficient means for the conveyance of the 19th regiment to Mocha before the close of the season. Colonel Wellesley proposes to touch at Bombay,—a determination

* Total, three thousand two hundred and fifty, besides artillery, European and native.

which will not materially retard his passage from Ceylon to Mocha.

"24. The force assembling at Bombay, consisting of sixteen hundred native troops, is ordered to proceed without delay to Mocha; and a very active and well-equipped detachment of horse-artillery, mounted principally from the Governor-General's body-guard, is now leaving this port for the same destination. Major-General Baird will, I doubt not, arrive at the place of rendezvous as soon as the troops can reach it.

"25. You are already apprised that Rear-Admiral Blankett sailed from Bombay with a considerable force on the 28th of December, 1800, for the purpose of carrying into effect a plan which he had concerted with me for the annoyance of the enemy on the coasts of the Red Sea.

"26. Under all these circumstances I trust that the operations of the armament from India will commence in Egypt at an earlier period of time, and with more vigour and effect than could have been reasonably expected.

"27. By the *Georgina* packet, which I trust will be ready for sea within the course of a few days, I propose to transmit to you ample details with relation to the subject of this dispatch as well as to various other important points.

"18. I have thought it advisable to dispatch the *Mornington* packet to the Cape of Good Hope, from whence she is ordered to convey dispatches for Sir Roger Curtis and to Major-General Baird at Mocha, in order to afford the officers commanding in the Red

Sea, the earliest and most authentic advices of the state and condition of the Mauritius. I have the honour to be, &c., WELLESLEY."

"P.S. I have the honour to request that you will communicate to the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors such points of this dispatch as you may judge to be necessary for their information."

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY DUNDAS.

"Barrackpore, May 10th, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your several dispatches noted in the margin. Proposing to enter fully into detail on all the important points of my correspondence of this year with you, by the *Georgina* packet, now under dispatch, I confine myself in this letter to the expression of my assurance that the civil and military expenditure of the Indian Government, in all its branches, together with the state of the public resources of every description, have occupied a large proportion of my attention for some time past, and that I am now employed in using every effort to accomplish such reductions of expense, and such augmentations of resource, as appear to me to be consistent with the security of the British interests in India, and with the welfare of our native subjects.

"By this dispatch I have submitted to the Chairman of the Court of Directors a general view of my

proceedings on the subject of revision, of the civil and military charges of this presidency, as far as I can now state the probable result of my orders. My dispatches to the Chairman will of course come under your consideration.

"With respect to the amount of the military force necessary to be maintained in India, I shall submit my sentiments to you in the most ample manner by the *Georgina* and over land. You may rely, however, on my implicit submission to any direction from you, the execution of which (however contrary to my deliberate judgment) may not appear to menace some immediate danger, of which you are not at present apprised. After having fully apprised you of the real state of our situation here, I shall carry your orders into effect, with whatever degree of danger their execution may appear to me to menace the country; for I am thoroughly sensible, after all discussion should have been exhausted, it would be for the power holding the supreme control to decide even the extreme question, whether the immediate reduction of our expenses should be preferred to the permanent security and prosperity of our empire in India. I hope no such difference of sentiment can ultimately arise as, in my conscientious judgment, involves such a question; but even in that last and improbable case, obedience would be my duty, and you may safely rely on my prompt and sincere discharge of my duty, so important and indispensable.

"I refer you to my dispatches by the *Princess Mary*, and to my dispatch, forwarded over land on the 7th of March, for an account of my proceedings rela-

tive to the expedition against Batavia and the coast of the Red Sea: with regard to the present state of affairs in the Red Sea, I have desired Mr. Duncan to transmit to you the most recent intelligence. The state of Colonel Wellesley's health compelled him to remain at Bombay, and has since rendered it necessary for him to go to the favourable climate of Mysore. Lord Clive will rejoice in Colonel Wellesley's return to that command, if his health should be restored: but I much lament that General Baird should have lost so able and active an assistant in the great objects of the expedition.

"I have received advices from Sir H. Popham dated at the Cape, from which I trust that he arrived at Mocha early in April, when the detachment of native troops from Bombay, and troops European and native, with the ships under Admiral Blankett, would, I hope, be ready to act with the force from the Cape.

"Such arrangements have been made as promise to secure the effectual supply of the troops in the Red Sea.

"I am aware that you could not have given me an earlier intimation of your designs against Egypt; if, however, I had been apprised of them, I should have proceeded to Bombay in December, 1800, for the express purpose of accelerating the equipments, and superintending the system of supply. I must, however, tender a due tribute of justice to the Governor of Bombay, by assuring you that I place great reliance on his exertions. Believe me, dear Sir, yours most sincerely, WELLESLEY."

The British expedition to Egypt, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie in 1800 is an event to which Englishmen will long continue to look back with feelings of national pride and exultation. A powerful French force, composed of veterans who had filled Europe with their fame, occupied Egypt,—the point, to use the remarkable words of Junot, from which Napoleon intended that "the thunderbolt should issue, which was to overwhelm the British Empire!"* The force under Abercrombie was inferior in numbers to the army under Menou;† and although the Grand Seignior had promised to collect a body of Turkish troops on the Syrian side of the Desert, to act in conjunction with the English; and though "the sable battalions of Hindostan," led by General Baird, were known to be pressing forward through the Desert from the shores of the Red Sea to coöperate with the main army, the brunt of the contest fell upon the British soldiers. "England and France were here to contend for the empire of the East in the cradle of ancient civilization, on the spot where Pompey was delivered up to the victorious arms of Cæsar, and

* When Buonaparte set out for Egypt, he carried with him a portfolio, on which were the following words in gold letters:—"Buonaparte General-in-Chief of the Army of the East."

† The French troops, exclusive of civil servants, which capitulated at Cairo, were . . . 13,472
Ditto at Alexandria, ... 10,528

Total French prisoners 24,000

British forces with Sir Ralph Abercombie 16,699
Landed in April 3,000
Indian force under General Baird 5,919

Total British sent to Egypt 25,618

under the walls of the city which is destined to perpetuate to the latest generation the prophetic wisdom of Alexander. Every object which met the eye was fraught with historic renown. On the right of the French line rose Pompey's Pillar, on the left Cleopatra's Needle; in the distance were seen the mouldering walls and Eastern domes of Alexandria, while on the extreme horizon, stretching into the sea, appeared the far-famed tower of Pharos. The British as well as their antagonists felt the influence of the scene, and the grandeur of the occasion; and these ancient rivals in military renown prepared to join in their first serious contest since the Revolution, with a bravery worthy of the cause in which they were engaged, and the animating presence in which they stood."* The battle of Alexandria shook to its base the fabric of French power in Egypt; the prowess exhibited by the British on that memorable and well-contested field, and the approach of General Baird with the Indian army to join the troops under General (afterwards Lord) Hutchinson, induced Belliard, the French commander at Cairo, with thirteen thousand six hundred and seventy-two men to propose a capitulation. General Baird accomplished his march across the Desert from Cossier to Thebes, notwithstanding innumerable difficulties, with incomparable skill; and on the 10th of August arrived at Grand Cairo. On the 27th of August the Indian army reached Rosetta on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; and they eagerly desired to advance to Alexandria, against which General Hutchinson had

* Alison.

now commenced operations, and opened his batteries. Although the French commander, Menou, had received intelligence by the Brig *Lodi*, which had eluded the vigilance of the English cruisers, that Admiral Gantheaume, with seven sail and five thousand men, had been dispatched to his succour by the First Consul, who sent him peremptory orders to hold out to the last extremity, the vigorous measures of Hutchinson, and the arrival of the reinforcements under General Baird, determined him to follow the example of Belliard, and save himself by a timely capitulation. Thus in the space of a few months Egypt was delivered from the yoke of France; and the Governor-General of India had the satisfaction of witnessing the triumphant success of the operations which were, in the first instance, recommended by him to his Majesty's Ministers, and in the execution of which he so energetically coöperated. The intelligence of the triumphs of the British arms in Egypt was received with equal delight and rejoicing in Constantinople, London, and Calcutta.

CHAPTER IV.

Letter of Lord Auckland to Marquess Wellesley, on the Union with Ireland and other foreign and domestic Events.—Lord Wellesley's Son at Eton.—Lord Auckland's Daughter married to Lord Francis Osborne. — Letter from Mr. Dundas, respecting the Union Flag. —Letter from Lord Clive. —Visit of Lady Clive and her Daughters to Mysore.—Polite Attentions of Colonel Wellesley.—Beauty of Bangalore.—Picturesque Falls of the River Cavery.—Gossip of the Durbar at Madras.—Biographical Note respecting Lord Clive, (afterwards Earl Powis.)—Note of Lord Clive with one of Tippoo's Standards.—Letter respecting the Investigation into the Nabob of Arcot's Conduct.—Letter of Sir Alured Clarke, respecting General Lake and Sir James Craig. — Batta, &c. — Lord Mornington's Letter to S. Manesty, Esq., at Bussorah, respecting the Persian Embassy, foreign Newspapers, &c.—Letter to Mr. Dundas.—General Martin.—Captain Malcolm.—Hon. Robert Brooke.—Colonel Wellesley's brilliant Services against Doondiah Waugh.—Letter to General Craig.

THE following miscellaneous letters relate to the events of the year 1800. We shall place first an interesting private letter from Lord Auckland, full of political gossip:—

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Palace Yard, May 10th.

"MY DEAR LORD WELLESLEY,

"I learn from the inclosed note that a vessel is sailing, and I take the occasion to send you the corrected resolutions for the Union with Ireland:*

* The purport of the eight articles of Union, enclosed by Lord Auckland, was as follows:—

Art. 1.—That the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on the first day of January, 1801, and for ever after, be united into one

we have had infinite trouble with these preparatory details, and the more so as the Opposition to the measure confined their attack to general points, and have never given attention to the wording of the articles. This made it the more incumbent on us to be watchful over our own accuracy; and the articles which I now send to you, and which at last are finally agreed to by both Houses, and are forwarded this morning to Ireland, vary a little from the copy which I forwarded to you a fortnight ago,—but rather in language than in substance. I feel a confident hope that the measure will be carried

kingdom in the name of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Art. 2.—That the succession to the imperial crown of the United Kingdom shall continue settled in the same manner as the succession to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland stood before united.

Art. 3.—That the said United Kingdom shall be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled "the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Art. 4.—That four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall sit in the House of Lords; and one hundred commoners, two for each county, two for the city of Dublin, and two for the city of Cork; one for Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities and boroughs, shall be the number to sit and vote in the House of Commons on the part of Ireland. (To this number five were added by the Irish Reform Act, 2 and 3 William IV., c. LXXXVIII, s. 9.) By this article, the precedence of Irish peers was regulated, their power to sit in the House of Commons, &c.

Art. 5.—That the Churches of England and Ireland be united in one Protestant episcopal church, to be called "the United Church of England and Ireland;" that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government shall be and remain the same as already established in Ireland; and that the continuance and preservation of the United Church so established, shall be deemed an essential part of the union; and that, in in like manner, the Church of Scotland shall remain the same as is now established by law, and by the Acts of Union of England and Scotland.

as the Act for the union of the two countries before the middle of June; and accordingly, on the 21st of January, 1801, you will be a Marquess, not of Ireland, but of the United Kingdom.* I consider this same union as the greatest event that has happened in our history.

"As to foreign politics, the Austrians have opened the campaign well in Italy, and are supposed to have taken Genoa, and to have destroyed Massena's army; but this is not yet absolutely confirmed. The French papers talk of some advantages which they say their army has gained, towards the Lake of Constance.

"The Emperor Paul has totally deserted the war;

Art. 6.—That the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges in trade and navigation, and also all treaties with foreign powers; that all prohibitions and bounties upon the importation of merchandize from one country to the other shall cease, but that the importation of certain articles therein enumerated shall be subject to the duties specified in the Act.

Art. 7.—That the sinking-funds and the interest in the National Debt of each country shall be defrayed by each separately; and that for the space of twenty years after the union, the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland towards the public expenditure in each shall be in the proportion of fifteen to two, subject to future regulations.

Art 8.—That all the laws and courts of each kingdom shall remain as by law then established, subject to alterations by the united Parliament; but that all writs of error and appeal shall be decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, except appeals from the Court of Admiralty in Ireland, which shall be decided by a court of delegates appointed by the Court of Chancery in Ireland; and that all existing laws contrary to these articles shall be, and are by the said Act, repealed.

* Lord Auckland was mistaken in his opinion respecting the effect of the union; that Act did not make Irish peers peers of the United Kingdom. The Marquess Wellesley was a Baron in the British peerage; his Marquisate was an Irish title.

it will be lucky if his irascibility and extravagance of mind should not lead him to something still more absurd.

"Nelson has taken *le Généreux* and *le Guillaume Tell*, the only two ships which had escaped him at Aboukir.

"Buonaparte is supposed to have ordered extensive encampments. We have nothing uncomfortable in our situation, except the dearness of provisions. The quartern loaf is now seventeen pence: the usual price was seven pence or eight pence. We have, however, the fairest prospects of early and plentiful harvests.

* * * * *

"Your eldest son is well settled at Eton, and is doing well; and is commended in the strongest manner to my two sons, the eldest of whom is now at the top of the sixth form.

"I think I have told you that my daughter Charlotte is married to Lord Francis Osborne. It was impossible to dispose of her in any way more promising for her own happiness.

"I fear this letter is hardly legible; but I have lately written in an incessant bustle.

"Lady Auckland desires to be always kindly recollected by you.

"His Majesty is in perfect health, thank God; and Mr. Pitt is in better health than when you left him. Believe me, my dear Lord, ever yours,

"AUCKLAND."

In connection with the question of the Union,

the Right Hon. Henry Dundas transmitted the note which follows to the Governor-General, at a later period of the year:—

"Downing Street, Nov. 27, 1800.

"My Lord,

"Inclosed I transmit to your Lordship, by the King's command, a printed copy of his Majesty's order in Council of the 5th inst., settling the royal style and title, and also the ensigns armorial on the Union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; drafts of the royal arms, standard, and union flags are also annexed: and I am to desire that you will cause the same to be made known and carried into effect in all the presidencies, and forts, and possessions of the Crown and of the East India Company under your Lordship's government and command. I have the honour to be, your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant, Henry Dundas."

"The Marquess Wellesley, &c."

In a letter from Lord Clive to the Governor-General, dated, Madras, 4th March, 1800, the following account of Lady Clive's visit to Seringapatam, &c., is given:—

"Your Lordship's letter of the 13th of December has been to me a source of the most cordial gratification; and the affectionate solicitude expressed by your Lordship for the success and prosperity of my government, and for my personal comfort and welfare, have made upon my mind a lasting impression of your kindness. Lady Clive having been at times in-

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA BARBARA

disposed, and her health and spirits appearing to require change of air and scene, I have arranged a journey for her to Ryacottah, eventually to be extended to Bangalore and Seringapatam. Colonel Wellesley has most amply provided for the convenience and dignity of her movements by sending Tippoo's elephants for the carriage of her tents and baggage; and there is some satisfaction in having this advantage without troubling his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic. Lady Clive sets out from the Race-ground, where her tents, &c., are to be pitched, this evening: on Thursday it is my intention to see her three or four days upon her march, and then return to Madras. You will readily believe the inclination has not been wanting to induce me to visit the officer commanding in Mysore; but the press of business here, and your Lordship's desire that I should as little as possible be absent from the seat of Government, have restrained me from indulging my wishes at this time. Should, however, the month of May prove a time of less material occupation than the present, I may still keep in view the possibility of escaping for a few days at that season, and of making an excursion of two or three weeks in Mysore, previous to Lady Clive's return. Your Lordship, however, may be assured that I shall not even gratify myself in this short absence unless I shall be convinced that the state of Madras can suffer no detriment thereby."

In a letter of the 26th of October, 1800, Lord Clive communicates to the Governor-General the return of his lady. "Lady Clive and my daughters

are just returned from their long excursion, having derived much entertainment therefrom, and laid in an abundant stock of health and spirits. They speak of Bangalore, where they resided ten weeks, as a delightful place, possessing cool shade, with a mild and cool climate; of Seringapatam as a most unpleasant residence. Captain Wilks has discovered a fall of the Cavery, after its junction with the Caupani, equal if not superior to any of the falls in Europe; it is five hundred yards wide, and two hundred feet in height."

In a letter dated the 29th of April, 1800, Lord Clive,* alluding to a journey of Mr. Webbe to meet

* Lord Clive, afterwards created Earl Powis, was the son of the great Clive, justly regarded as one of the founders of our Indian empire. The first Lord Clive died in 1774, and was succeeded by his son, Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, who so cordially and effectually coöperated with the Marquess Wellesley. In 1784, his Lordship married Lady Henrietta Herbert, daughter of Earl Powis; and on the death of her Ladyship's brother, without issue, she succeeded to the whole of the family estates. In 1794, Lord Clive was created a British peer; and in 1798, was appointed Governor of the presidency of Madras, on the duties of which he entered previously to the advance of the British army under General Harris, against Seringapatam. On the 4th of October, 1799, the following resolution passed the House of Commons:—"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the thanks of the House be given to the Right Hon. Lord Clive, Governor of the settlement of Fort George, for his zealous, cordial, and honourable concurrence in forwarding the wise and dignified views of the Governor-General in council, by which he has furnished a salutary and memorable example of the advantage of unanimity and concord among the persons employed in high stations in the British dominions in the East Indies; and has, to the utmost of his power, promoted the success of those measures from which the most important public benefits have resulted to this country." Lord Clive returned to England in 1804, and was created Earl of Powis, and Viscount Clive. His Lordship was succeeded in the government of Madras by Lord Bentinck. In 1805, Earl Powis was nominated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; but in consequence of the

Colonel Close at Bangalore, says, "It may divert you to hear that the report at the Durbar* was, that Colonels Wellesley and Close have had a mortal quarrel, in consequence of which the affairs of Mysore are going to the dogs, and that Mr. Webbe is gone to reconcile them.

"Mr. Duboc is arrived to-night. I propose to allow him lieutenant-colonel's pay, and to send him to Chinglepat, not thinking it proper for him to remain at Madras at this time. If your Lordship has no wish for his company at Calcutta, I shall send him to Europe by the first opportunity."

LORD CLIVE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, K.P.

(Private.)

"Fort George, May 2, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"General Harris, upon the eve of his departure, gave into my charge a colour of Tippoo Sultaun's, which he informed me it was your Lordship's wish should be sent to Calcutta by a convenient opportunity. I should have entrusted it to the care of Montgomery had not Captain Brown, in whose hands I had placed it, been absent at the time of the embarkation of your Lordship's body-guard. I now avail myself of the return from Lady Mornington of a servant, in whom your Lordship, I understand,

changes in the Government did not assume that office. The present Earl Powis was born in 1785; he is married to the third daughter of the Duke of Montrose; one of the noble Earl's sisters is married to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, and another to the Duke of Northumberland.

* Levee; also the court of an independent prince.

reposes considerable confidence, and who has promised to deliver the colours into your Lordship's possession. I remain always, my dear Lord, most faithfully,

"CLIVE."

"To the Earl of Mornington, &c."

LORD CLIVE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Fort St. George, 5th May, 1800.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter received this morning from Webbe, by which you will perceive that he and Close are proceeding to Seringapatam in the further examination of the business entrusted to their joint investigation.* Webbe is particularly anxious to give his whole attention to the subject, to the elucidation of which your Lordship, as well as himself, attaches so much importance; and I am persuaded, whatever may be the result, you will be satisfied that no pains or exertions have been wanting to sift it to the bottom. The most complete secresy has prevailed, and hitherto there has not been a surmise of the real object of Mr. Webbe's absence. A report of the black people is, that Webbe's austere virtue has at length given way, and that he has plundered the Treasury of four or five lacs, and is gone to replace Nana.† I am always, my dear Lord, most faithfully yours, CLIVE."

"To the Earl of Mornington."

* Reference is here made to the investigation originating in the disclosures in the correspondence between the Nabob of Arcot and Tippoo Sultaun, found after the siege of Seringapatam.

† Nana Furnavese, one of the Council at Poonah.

Mr. Webbe, at this stage of the inquiry, reports, "The general complexion of the matter in the examination of this person (Ali Rezza) tends very much to relieve the appearance of infidelity on the part of the Nabob Omdal ul Omrah."

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Chowringhee, Sep. 23, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"I am extremely happy to find that Major Gerrard's promotion to the situation of Adjutant-General meets with your Lordship's approbation, as I have every reason to think he will be found a very useful officer in that department.

"The information you have received from your brother, which you have been good enough to communicate to me, leaves little doubt that General Lake will be my successor,* and that Sir James Craig and the Major-Generals you mention, are destined for the coast of Coromandel.

"The capture of the *Armenia* is certainly unfortunate for all concerned; but I was happy to find the apprehensions you had for the safety of Mr. Stokes relieved by the intelligence from Bombay: that part of the account, however, which relates to six French frigates, &c., I hope may not be verified; as they may prove very troublesome to our commerce at least. I have the honour to be, &c., Alured Clarke."

* As Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India.

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

"Barrackpore, Oct. 13th.

"My dear Lord,

"I have the honour to return the papers you were good enough to send for my inspection. Having completely made up your mind to the discontinuance of the *batta* at present allowed to officers, in consequence of their brevet rank, conformably to the orders of the Court of Directors, it only remains to carry those orders into execution: and the manner proposed in the draft of resolutions, prepared by Captain Robinson, which I have read with attention, appears to me very clear, and well calculated to prevent all doubts and difficulties hereafter on the subject.

"I purpose remaining here till Tuesday morning, when I shall have the honour of paying my respects to you in Calcutta; and in the mean time, I remain with great truth, &c., Alured Clarke."

LORD MORNINGTON TO SAMUEL MANESTY, ESQ.

"Fort William, April 27th, 1800.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to receive your letters dated the 14th of February, and the 5th and 6th ultimo.

"Captain Malcolm, the envoy from the Governor-General in council to the Court of Persia, has communicated to me, in terms highly creditable to you, the

proofs which you have afforded of a cordial disposition to render him, in the progress of his important mission, every assistance in your power. It is scarcely necessary, I should inform you of the satisfaction which I have derived from Captain Malcolm's report on this occasion.

"I enclose a duplicate of my last letter to you; and I take the present opportunity of again earnestly recommending to you to employ every practicable means of improving and expediting the transmission to India of the Continental Journals, and other public Newspapers, so highly important and interesting in the present conjuncture. I consider it to be extremely desirable that you should be enabled to send a dispatch to Bombay either by boat or cruiser, once during every fortnight, and I recommend to you to endeavour to procure the Foreign Journals from Constantinople as often as possible. I should hope that the recent establishment of a British Resident at Muscat, would greatly facilitate the communication between Bussorah and India. I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the tranquillity and prosperity of the British possessions in India remain undisturbed. I have the honour to be, &c. MORNINGTON."

LORD WELLESLEY TO THE RIGHT HON. MR. DUNDAS.

(Private.)

1st May, 1800.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"By the same conveyance which brought your letter, I received from the speaker of the House of

Commons, an attested copy of the resolutions unanimously voted by that House upon your motion, on the 4th of October, 1799. I cannot close this dispatch without expressing to you the cordial assurance of my high sense of the distinguished honour conferred upon me, by that part of the resolutions which respects my conduct in the discharge of the duties of my station, from the period of my arrival in India, until the fall of Seringapatam; and I trust that the settlement which I have effected of our extensive and splendid conquests, will have been found answerable to your expectations, and to those of the House of Commons. It was a great satisfaction to me, to find that the House of Commons entertained a just sense of the eminent services of Lord Clive, Mr. Duncan, Lieutenant-General Harris, and the officers and troops employed under him in Mysore.

* * * * *

"I have the satisfaction to inform you that our tranquillity and prosperity in India continue undisturbed. The reform of the N.V's* army advances regularly towards completion; and the number of our troops established in his country and receiving his pay, is increasing according to my intended plan. This important measure has hitherto proceeded without producing any commotion; and I have every reason to believe that it will be completed in the same tranquil manner.

* * * * *

"I am, my dear Sir, &c. WELLESLEY."

* The Nabob of Oude, of whom more hereafter.

LORD WELLESLEY TO GENERAL MARTIN.

(Private.)

"Fort William, July 18th, 1800.

"SIR,

"I have been prevented from offering to you my earlier acknowledgments for your obliging letter, and for the map which accompanied it, by the constant pressure of public business, since my return from the coast, and latterly by indisposition. I had also entertained hopes of being able to visit Lucknow in the course of this season, when I should have been happy to have had the pleasure of returning you my thanks in person; but as I now find that the affairs of the government must detain me at Fort William, I take this method of assuring you that I retain a just sense of your flattering congratulations, and of the interest which you take in the glorious success of the British arms in Mysore. I have the honour to be, with great consideration, Sir, your most faithful servant,

"WELLESLEY."

LORD WELLESLEY TO CAPTAIN MALCOLM.

(Private.)

"Fort William, 11th August, 1800.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have been prevented by illness, which has been more troublesome than serious, from acknowledging your obliging letter of the——. I request you

to be assured that I receive your congratulations, on his Majesty's gracious acceptance of my services, and on the satisfactory resolutions of Parliament, with a just sense of your kindness. Your conduct in the discharge of your present duty has fully justified my expectations, and I entertain no doubt that considerable public benefit will result from your mission. Believe me, dear Sir, with great regard and esteem, your faithful servant,

"WELLESLEY."

LORD WELLESLEY TO THE HON. ROBERT BROOKE, ETC., ST. HELENA.

"Fort William, 9th October, 1800.

"SIR,

"The actual state of affairs in India affords no matter for any particular communication to you. We continue to enjoy the fruits of our late success with little interruption. The enclosed gazettes will apprise you of Colonel Wellesley's rapid and brilliant movements against the insurgent Doondiah.*

* The following is an extract from a general order published by the Governor of Madras, Lord Clive, dated, Fort George, December, 1800:

"In the general orders of the 25th of September, the Right Hon. the Governor in council, published the high sense his Lordship entertained of the services rendered to the British interest in India, by the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, and the officers and troops under his command.

"The Governor in council, has now the satisfaction of announcing the entire concurrence of the most noble the Governor-General in council, in the sentiments expressed in those orders on the dispatches from Colonel Wellesley; and the Governor-General in council has directed the Governor in council to communicate, in general orders,

"I was very happy to be able to show my attention to Mr. and Mrs. Marshall during their continuance at Calcutta.

"I have been much indisposed during this last hot season, but at present am well, and I flatter myself perfectly recovered. I have the honour to be, Sir, with great esteem and regard, your most obedient and faithful servant, "WELLESLEY."

LORD WELLESLEY TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR J. H. CRAIG, K.B.

(Private.)

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th of November.

"You may rest perfectly assured that I am fully impressed with the justice of your claims to a preference of active employment whenever any service shall be in contemplation which in my judgment requires your assistance; I am also justly sensible of the alacrity and zeal which you have always manifested whenever any occasion has been afforded for the exercise of your distinguished talents.

"As your own wishes concurring with the de-

"the thanks of the Governor-General in council, to the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, for the judgment, energy, and valour which distinguished his operations against Doondiah Waugh, during the late rapid and prosperous campaign; and for the important services which he has rendered to the Hon. Company, in terminating the war against that insurgent with such signal and speedy success."

parture of Sir Alured Clarke for Europe, promise me the pleasure of seeing you soon at Fort William, I shall postpone any further communication on the subject of your letter until I can have the advantage of a personal interview with you.*

"I have the honour to be, Sir, with great respect, your most faithful and humble servant,

"WELLESLEY."

* General Sir James Henry Craig, K.B., afterwards filled the office of Governor-in-Chief of British North America. He died on the 12th of January, 1812.

CHAPTER V.

The Rupture between England and Denmark.—Geographical Position of the Danish Settlements in India.—Intrigues therein against the British.—Action between a British cruiser, and the Danish frigate *Freya*.—Lord Wellesley's Instructions to Lord Clive, on receiving news of that event.—Tranquebar and Serampore occupied by the English.—The Right of Search in time of war agreeable to the Law of Nations.—Sir William Scott's Decisions on the subject.—Lucid Statement of the Law of Nations on the point of Kent, the American Jurist.—Conclusion of the Discussions between England and Denmark. — Tranquebar and Serampore restored to the Danes. — Letters of Lord Hobart, and the Court of Directors.—Note from Lord Wellesley to the Danish Governor, respecting the Newspapers at Calcutta.

On the rupture between the British Government and Denmark in 1801, the Marquess Wellesley took possession of, and occupied with English troops, the settlements in British India held by the Danes; the principal of which were Tranquebar in the Tanjore country, on the coast of Coromandel, and Serampore, a town about twelve miles from the British capital on the Hooghly, and nearly opposite the private residence of the Governor-General.

On the 8th of May, 1801, a detachment of the garrison of Fort William proceeded from the cantonment of Barrackpore under the command of Colonel Dickson, accompanied by Captain Shawe and Lieutenant Armstrong, aids-du-camp to the Governor-General, to the Danish settlement of Fredericks-

nagore, or Serampore,* and took possession of that settlement without opposition; immediately after which the Colonel detached a party of Sepoys to Isherah, under the command of Captain Morris, accompanied by the captain of the Danish Company's ship *Norge*, or *Norway*, and who delivered up the ship to Captain Morris, in conformity to his word of honour given to the Colonel when taken prisoner.†

Although the illegal and extraordinary proceedings of the Danish Government in refusing compliance with the established law of nations in the matter of visitation and search on the high seas, were the immediate cause of hostilities, the Marquess Wellesley had long had occasion to complain of the unfriendly proceedings of the Danish colonial authorities in India, in affording refuge and protection to individuals entertaining hostile designs against the British power. On the 18th of January, 1799, the Governor-General

* Serampore is a small town built on the western banks of the Hooghly river, about twelve miles from Calcutta, in 22°, 45′, N. lat., and 88°, 26′, E. long. It is of inconsiderable breadth, extending about a mile along the banks of the river. The town is built in the European fashion, and nominally belongs to the Danes, whose commerce is, however, confined to the town of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast. Serampore has acquired some celebrity as being the principal seat of the Protestant missions. A press has been established in Serampore, in which numerous translations of the Bible have been printed. There is also a college there for instructing youths in the European and Asiatic languages, in mathematics and natural philosophy; and also a school for the instruction of the natives, without interference with their religious opinions. In 1824, Serampore was nearly overwhelmed by an extraordinary inundation. The population of the place, which is composed of Danes, English, natives, and a mixed race, is estimated at about thirteen thousand. The Danish Government has had possession of Serampore since 1676.

† Asiatic Annual Register.

felt compelled to address a strong expostulation to his Excellency General Anker, complaining of the unwarrantable proceedings, not only of persons protected by the Danish flag at Tranquebar, but of a member of the Government at that settlement, who, it was discovered, was in close correspondence with M. Duboc, the French agent in the employment of Tippoo Sultaun.

On the 25th of July, 1800, the commander of the Danish frigate *Freya* refused to allow a merchantman under his convoy to be *searched* by a British cruizer, but tendered his certificates to the British officer. The Dane having threatened to fire upon the boat of the British ship if it proceeded in an attempt to make a search, the English commander opened his port-holes, and gave the contumacious "neutral" a broadside; finally towing the *Freya* and her convoy as prizes into the Downs. The moment the Governor-General of India received the news of this action between the English and the Danish ships, he foresaw what would be the probable consequences. In this, as in other instances, anticipating the instructions of the home Government, he addressed the following note to Lord Clive, on the 1st of December, 1800:—

"The intelligence contained in the advices brought by an overland dispatch, which reached Fort William this morning, affords every ground of belief that a renewal of hostilities between the Emperor of Germany and the French Government has taken place; while, on the other hand, it appears probable that, during the continuance of the renewed war, the

Emperor of Germany may have opened negotiations for a peace on terms to which Great Britain cannot accede. These circumstances, added to the state of the French power in Egypt, demand with additional urgency the execution of the measures communicated to your Lordship in my late dispatches. But the event to which I particularly desire to call your Lordship's attention, is the capture of the two Danish frigates, as stated in Lord Minto's letter, which, under all the circumstances of the case, appears to me to indicate a probability of an early rupture between England and Denmark. In the event of hostilities taking place, it will be of the greatest importance that we should be prepared to act with promptitude and effect against the Danish power in India.

"With a view to this event, I request that your Lordship will be pleased to take, with all practicable secrecy, such measures as may appear to you best calculated to enable you to possess yourself of the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, at the first moment after you shall have received authentic advices from Europe of a rupture with Demark; and, in such a case, I request your Lordship to act instantaneously, without waiting for any reference to me.

"In the interval, it would be advisable, as soon as possible, to carry into effect the measures which your Lordship knows to have been long in contemplation of establishing a resident at Tranquebar, for the purpose of observing the motions and intrigues of the French and Danes. I request your Lordship to select a proper person for that purpose,

and to furnish him with credentials; referring to my authority, as well as to that of your Lordship's Government, you will direct the resident at Tranquebar to correspond immediately with me, as well as with your Lordship; and you will fix his appointments on such a scale as may appear to your Lordship to be proper.

"I also request that your Lordship will immediately transmit a copy of this letter, with the papers which accompany it, to Vice-Admiral Rainier, and suggest to his Excellency the importance of directing a vigilant attention to the settlement of Tranquebar; and also of taking such measures as may appear best calculated for defeating any attempts which the numerous ships and extensive commerce of the Danes in India may eventually enable that nation to make against the British trade or settlements in the Indian and the Chinese seas."

The refusal of the Baltic powers to submit (agreeably to the known law of nations) to visitation and search, was the origin of the controversies which afterwards gave rise to the Decrees of Milan, the British Orders in Council, and, finally, to those discussions respecting the maritime rights of neutrals, which ended in the American war of 1812. Yet no point of maritime and international law is more clearly established than that which the Court of Denmark was induced to question in 1801; as the following propositions, resting on the highest authority, will demonstrate:—

1. That it is not lawful for neutral nations to carry on in time of war, for the advantage, or on the

behalf, of one of the belligerent powers, those branches of their commerce from which they are excluded in time of peace.

2. That every belligerent power may capture the property of its enemies, wherever it shall meet with it on the high seas, and may for that purpose, detain and bring into port neutral vessels laden wholly, or in part, with any such property.

3. That under the description of *contraband of war*, which neutrals are prohibited from carrying to the belligerent powers, the law of nations, if not restrained by special treaty, includes all naval as well as military stores, and generally all articles serving principally to afford to one belligerent power the instrument and means of annoyance to be used against the other.

4. That it is lawful for naval powers, when engaged in war, to blockade the ports of their enemies by cruising squadrons, *bonâ fide* allotted to that service, and duly competent to its execution. That such blockade is valid and legitimate, although there be no design to attack or reduce by force the port, fort, or arsenal, to which it is applied; and that the fact of the blockade, with due notice given thereof to neutral powers, shall affect not only vessels actually intercepted in the attempt to enter the blockaded port, but those also which shall be elsewhere met with, and shall be found to have been destined to such a port, under circumstances of the fact and notice of the blockade.

5. That the right of *visiting and searching neutral vessels* is a necessary consequence of these principles;

and that by the law of nations (when unrestrained by particular treaty) this right is not in any manner affected by the presence of a neutral ship of war, having under its convoy merchant ships either of its own nation, or of any other country.

In conformity with these principles Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, the distinguished brother of a distinguished man,* laid down the following maxims of maritime and international law, applicable to all independent states, and in coincidence with the doctrines universally recognized by civilized countries:—

1. *That the right of visiting and searching merchant ships upon the high seas, whatever be the ships, whatever be the cargoes, whatever be the destinations, is an incontestable right of the lawfully-commissioned cruizers of a belligerent nation.*

2. That the authority of the sovereign of the neutral country being interposed in any matter of mere force, cannot legally vary the rights of a legally-commissioned belligerent cruizer, or deprive him of his right to search at common law.

3. That the penalty for the violent contravention of this right, is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation and search.

4. That nothing farther is necessary to constitute blockade, than that there should be a force established to prevent communication, and a due notice or prohibition given to the party.

5. That articles tending probably to aid the hostilities of one of the belligerents, as arms, ammunition,

* Eldon.

stores, and, in some cases, provisions, are contraband of war, and as such, liable to seizure by the vessels of the other party, with the vessels in which they are conveyed.

These principles are of universal application; applicable alike to England and every other nation, as well as to Sweden and Denmark. Though they were vehemently disputed at the time of the occurrences to which reference has been made, by the enemies of England, their incontestable truth is now admitted by all authorities on maritime law. Kent, the American jurist, whose learning, industry, and integrity, in conjunction with the writings of his distinguished colleague, the late Mr. Justice Story, have tended so much to elevate the character of the legal profession in the United States, sums up the decisions of the American courts on this subject in the following terms; to which it is the more important to pay attention, as this question entered in some degree into the discussions between the United Kingdom and the Republican Government, which at a subsequent date were conducted on the part of his Britannic Majesty, by the Marquess Wellesley, then Foreign Secretary.

"In order to enforce the rights of belligerent nations against the delinquencies of neutrals, and to ascertain the real as well as the assumed character of all vessels on the high seas, the law of nations arms them with the practical power of Visitation and Search. The duty of self-preservation gives to belligerent nations this right. It is founded upon necessity, and is strictly and exclusively a war right, and does not exist in times of peace. All writers upon the law of na-

tions, and the highest authorities, acknowledge the right as resting upon sound principles of public jurisprudence, and upon the institutes and practice of all great maritime powers. And if, upon making the search, the vessel be found employed in contraband trade, or in carrying the enemies property, or troops, or dispatches, she is liable to be taken and brought in for adjudication before a prize court.

"Neutral nations have frequently been disposed to question and resist the exercise of this right. This was particularly the case with the Baltic confederacy during the American war, and with the convention of Baltic powers in 1801. The right of search was denied, and the flag of the state was declared to be a substitute for all documentary and other proof, and to exclude all right of search: those powers armed for the purpose of defending their neutral pretensions; and England did not hesitate to consider it as an attempt to introduce by force a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with her belligerent rights, and hostile to her interests, and one which would go to extinguish the right of maritime capture. The attempt was speedily frustrated and abandoned, and the right of search has since that time been considered incontrovertible.

"The whole doctrine was ably discussed in the English High Court of Admiralty in the case of the *Maria*, and it was adjudged that the right was incontestable, and that a neutral sovereign could not, by the interposition of force, vary that right. Two powers may agree among themselves that the presence of one of their armed ships along with their merchant ships,

shall be mutually understood to imply that nothing is to be found in that convoy of merchant ships, inconsistent with amity or neutrality. But no belligerent power can legally be compelled, by mere force, to accept of such a pledge; and every belligerent power who is no party to the agreement, has a right to insist on the only security known to the law of nations on this subject, independent of any special covenant, and that is the right of personal visitation and search to be exercised by those who have an interest in making it. The penalty for the violent contravention of this right, is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation; and the infliction of this penalty is conformable to the settled practice of nations, as well as to the principles of the municipal jurisprudence of most countries in Europe. There may be cases in which the master of a neutral ship may be authorised, by the natural right of self-preservation, to defend himself against extreme violence threatened by a cruizer grossly abusing his commission; but except in extreme cases a merchant vessel has no right to say for itself, and an armed vessel has no right to say for it, that it will not submit to visitation or search, or to be carried into a proximate port for judicial inquiry. Upon these principles a fleet of Swedish merchant ships, sailing under convoy of a Swedish ship of war, and under instructions from the Swedish Government to resist by force the right of search claimed by British lawfully commissioned cruizers, was condemned. The resistance of the convoying ship was a resistance of the whole convoy, and justly subjected the whole to confiscation.

"The doctrine of the English Admiralty on the right of visitation and search, and on the limitation of the right, has been recognised in its fullest extent by the courts of justice of this country. The very act of sailing under the protection of a belligerent or neutral convoy for the purpose of resisting search, is a violation of neutrality. The Danish Government asserted the same principle in its correspondence with the United States, and in the royal instructions of the 10th of March, 1810; and none of the powers of Europe have called in question the justice of the doctrine. Confiscation is applied by way of penalty for resistance of search to all vessels without any discrimination as to the national character of the vessel or cargo, and without separating the fate of the cargo from that of the ship.

"The right of search is confined to private merchant vessels, and does not apply to public ships of war. Their immunity from the exercise of any jurisdiction but that of the sovereign power to which they belong, is uniformly asserted, claimed, and conceded. A contrary doctrine is not to be found in any jurist or writer on the law of nations, or admitted in any treaty; and every act to the contrary has been promptly met and condemned.

"The exercise of the right of visitation and search must be conducted with due care and regard to the rights and safety of the vessel. If the neutral has acted with candour and good faith, and the inquiry has been wrongfully pursued, the belligerent cruizer is responsible to the neutral in costs and damages, to be assessed by the prize court which sustains the ju-

dicial examination. The mere exercise of the right of search involves the cruizer in no trespass, for it is strictly lawful. But if he proceed to capture the vessel as a prize, and sends her for adjudication, and there was no probable cause, he is responsible. It is not the search, but the subsequent capture which is treated in such a case as a tortious act. If the capture be justifiable, the subsequent detention for adjudication is never punished with damages; and in all cases of maritime torts, courts of admiralty exercise a large discretion in giving or withholding damages.

"A rescue effected by the crew after capture, and when the captors are in actual possession, is unlawful, and considered to be a resistance within the application of the penalty of confiscation, for it is a delivery by force from force. And where the penalty attaches at all, it attaches as completely to the cargo as the ship; for the master acted as agent of the owner of the cargo, and his resistance was a fraudulent attempt to withdraw it from the rights of war."*

At the conclusion of the discussions with Denmark, orders were issued for the restitution of the Danish colonies captured by the British. The following is the copy of a letter addressed by Lord Hobart to the Governor-General of India on this occasion:–

* The learned commentator gives several references to cases in the American courts, to which the reader is referred for fuller information.

TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

"Downing-Street, 9th January, 1802.

"My Lord,

"The Court of Denmark having authorized its Minister at the Court of Russia to accede to the convention concluded at St. Petersburgh on the 17th day of June last, a copy of which I enclose, and to renew the former treaties of commerce and the ancient relations with his Majesty, his Majesty has been pleased to signify his commands that the colonial possessions of that power in India, now occupied by his Majesty's forces, should be restored as soon as the arrangements for that purpose can be completed. I am therefore to signify to your Lordship his Majesty's commands that the said possessions belonging to the crown of Denmark, and now occupied by his Majesty's forces, are to be restored to that power in the same state in which they were when taken possession of.

"All the archives of the Danish Government, the artillery, arms, and military stores, horses, and, in short, all property of his Danish Majesty, except such provisions as may have been consumed by his Majesty's troops, or used for the public service, are to be restored.

"The ships of war and merchant vessels, belonging to his Danish Majesty or to his subjects, taken in the ports or neighbouring seas of the several settlements, are also to be restored.

"With regard to the revenues thereof, whatever

sums may have been received during the time the said settlements may have been in possession of his Majesty's arms shall be accounted for to the Danish Government, with the exception of such disbursements for the public service as have heretofore been customarily defrayed out of the public funds.

"With regard to every other description of property, you are to understand that no articles or effects, the property of Danish subjects, or of any person who shall, *bonâ fide,* have been possessed of Danish burgher briefs previous to the said settlements being taken possession of by his Majesty's troops, can be considered as prize; and if any such property shall be in the hands of the captors or their agents, it must be immediately restored, or, if it shall have been sold, the proceeds thereof must be accounted for.

"In all cases where, from the nature of the property found in the said settlements, it may have been judged advisable to send it to Great Britain, you will require from the persons in whose hands the documents respecting such property may have been placed, such attested copies thereof as may be necessary for an ulterior arrangement, and you will deliver such documents to the officer in command of the troops of the Danish Government.

"In case the Danish troops which composed the garrisons of the said settlements should have been removed therefrom, you will give the necessary orders for their being permitted to return, with their arms and colours, to their respective stations; and your Lordship will not fail to report to me, for his Ma-

jesty's information, all occurrences that may have arisen in the completion of this service. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant, HOBART."

TO THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

"WE transmit for your information a copy of instructions sent in January last by the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to Marquess Wellesley, relative to the restoration of the Danish settlements in the East Indies. We are your affectionate friends,

"JOHN ROBERTS,
"JACOB BOSANQUET,
"JOHN MANSHIP."

"East India House,
"London, June 24, 1802."

The following note from the Marquess Wellesley to the Governor of the Danish town of Serampore, affords a curious illustration of the position of the public press in India at this period:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY COLONEL O. BIE, &c.

"Fort William, September 24, 1804.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, dated 21st inst. *The necessary orders* have been communicated to the

editors of the newspapers published in Calcutta, for the purpose of preventing the publication of any injurious reflections on the character and conduct of the Judge and Recorder of the Court of Justice at Fredericksnagore; and your Excellency may be assured that nothing of a nature offensive to your Excellency's Government, or to any of its affairs, will be allowed to appear in any of the gazettes or other papers published at this settlement. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) WELLESLEY."

On the 9th of October, 1845, the settlement of Serampore was formally ceded, by Commissioners appointed by the Danish Government, to Great Britain. On that day, the English flag was hoisted there, and the rule of Denmark ceased. Tranquebar, it is understood, has likewise been transferred to the East India Company; the sovereignty of both places having been acquired by purchase. Thus, after a lapse of forty-three years, the wisdom of the Marquess Wellesley's counsel is recognised, and his policy is reverted to!

CHAPTER VI.

Lord Wellesley's Policy respecting Oude.—Violent Censures upon it.—Remarks on the Principles asserted by Mr. Mill, respecting the Native Princes.—England an Ascendant Power in India.—British Supremacy to be maintained in virtue of European Civilization, and Anglo-Saxon Energy.—The Personal "Rights" of Asiatic Dynasties, independent of the Feelings or Interest of their Subjects.—Frequently based on Usurpation and Murder.—Right of the British Government to interfere where the Disorders of neighbouring States render the British Possessions insecure.—Negotiations with the Nabob Vizier.—His Vacillation and Duplicity.—Frightful State of Oude.—Disorganized State of his Army.—The Advance of Zemaun Shah.—Note of Zemaun Shah's Death.—Massacre of Vizier Ali.—Capture of that royal Assassin.—Mr. Henry Wellesley proceeds to Lucknow—Negotiates a Treaty with the Vizier.—Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Oude.—Orders of the Directors to dismiss him.—The Board of Control interferes.—Biographical Note respecting Mr. Henry Wellesley (now Lord Cowley).—Journal of the Marquess Wellesley's Journey to the Upper Provinces.—His Lordship's return.—Charges relative to Oude preferred by Mr. Paull.—Remarks upon them.—Vote of Thanks from the House of Commons to Marquess Wellesley.—Note respecting a Letter written by Mr. Paull, while in Oude, to the Governor-General.

No part of the policy of the Marquess Wellesley has been more severely criticised and more violently condemned than his arrangements respecting the kingdom of Oude, a country of great importance on the north-west frontier of India, bordering the dominions of the ancient empire of Delhi. Charges were solemnly presented to Parliament, accusing the Marquess Wellesley of high crimes and misdemeanours in the measures which his Lordship pursued

toward the Nabob Vizier of Oude; and though those charges perished with the wretched man who brought them forward as the ground of a parliamentary impeachment, they imparted venom to the subsequent strictures of more than one public writer on the Marquess Wellesley's administration of the government of India.

The accusations sustained so pertinaciously by Mr. Mill are scarcely reconcileable, it is submitted, with the fact (which no one has ever publicly called in question) that, in every particular of these important transactions, the noble Marquess was *solely* influenced by a sense of duty to the interests of the Crown and East India Company, which it was his earnest desire to strengthen and preserve; and that, while they were in progress, his Lordship contemplated a surrender of the high trust confided to him into the hands from which he had received it. No personal considerations could possibly have actuated him in his negotiations with the King of Oude. If his views were mistaken, at least they were the result of the most laborious investigation, the most cautious deliberations in council, and a conscientious conviction that the crisis of affairs in British India, and the pressing exigencies of the times, imperatively demanded their adoption.

In the discussion of this and kindred topics, Mr. Mill has chosen to assume as a fundamental principle, that the British Government in India had on right to assert in its negotiations a *superiority* over the native powers, but that we were bound to deal with the sovereigns of India on

the same terms of equality as we should be with any of the established monarchs of Europe. It would be the grossest hypocrisy if we were to affect to concede any such doctrine. The whole course of British power in India is directly opposed to it. No British statesman, it may be safely affirmed, would venture to act upon such a figment. England stands confessedly in India as an ascendant power; invested with supremacy in virtue of European civilization and Anglo-Saxon energy;—which have committed to England a mission to put an end to the frightful disorders and manifold evils which have afflicted the unhappy natives under the sway of sanguinary and despotic monarchs, whose right to their thrones has usually been based on violence, deceit, and blood, and who have existed to scourge and afflict, and not to afford the protection of just government to their subjects. To deal with Asiatic kings, who lived by oppression and every species of misrule, and whose absolute authority was exercised without any reference to the inclinations of the people on whom they trampled, and the "rights" of whose ancestors were not unfrequently based on the poniard and poisoned chalice, as if they were constitutional sovereigns, supported by the patriotic sentiments of grateful subjects, would appear to be in the highest degree preposterous. The British Government in India had clearly a right to interpose in the affairs of any of the native states, the disorders and misgovernment of which disturbed their own dominions; first, on the natural principle of self-preservation, which justifies every legitimate power in taking security for its

safety: secondly, because wherever the British standard is raised in India, the reign of the assassin and plunderer is suspended, and the protection of British justice is afforded to the native population. To place the personal "rights" of the native sovereigns of Asia, reigning by brute force, without the assent of their subjects, in opposition to the comprehensive plans of a statesman for the consolidation of British power in India, and for the amelioration of the condition of the people (assuming that these plans are calculated to secure such ends), is surely little better than trifling with a serious subject.

If these reflections are just, but little stress will be placed upon the pathetic allusions to the *personal feelings* and "rights" of the Nabob Vizier of Oude, in reference to the changes effected in the administration of the affairs of his kingdom by the Marquess Wellesley. The case is narrowed into an inquiry into the matters of fact whether the safety of the British Empire and the welfare of the natives of Oude rendered interference necessary, and demanded the measures which were adopted by the Marquess Wellesley? As to the general beneficial effects of the interference of the British Government in India, we can have no stronger testimony than that of Mr. Mill himself, in another part of his work:—"In matters of detail, I have more frequently had occasion to blame the Company's government than to praise it; and, till the business of government is much better understood, whoever writes history, with a view solely to the good of mankind, will have the same thankless task to perform;

yet I believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of good will towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe."

It has already appeared, from allusions in the private letters which passed between Lord Wellesley, Sir Alured Clarke, and the Hon. F. North, that the condition of Oude had for some time been a source of anxiety to the Governor-General. The advance of Zemaun Shah as far as Lahore, with the intention of establishing himself at Delhi, rendered it necessary to assemble a British force on the Oude frontier, under General Sir James Craig, to observe the motions of the Affghan chief. At this juncture, the Nabob Vizier applied for a detachment of British troops, to guard his person in Lucknow, professing himself suspicious of his own soldiers, who, he declared, would immediately join the standard of Zemaun Shah, or any other adventurer that would lead them to plunder. From the reports of Sir James Craig and Sir Alured Clarke, it appeared that the Oude troops were a dangerous disorderly banditti, who were a terror both to the Vizier and his subjects, whom the British Government were bound, by the treaty framed by Sir John Shore, to protect in case of danger. The representations of the British Am-

bassador, sent by Lord Wellesley to Persia, had the effect of causing an attack by the Persian monarch upon the province of Khorassan, which compelled Zemaun Shah to retrace his steps, and abandon his designs of conquest in India, for the defence of his own dominions.* But it was quite obvious that the dangerous and exposed state of the Oude frontier tended to encourage hostile projects; and that the disorganized state of the army of the Nabob Vizier rendered it necessary to take some steps with regard to that force. An event which occurred while Lord Wellesley was at Madras, and which is referred to more than once in his letters from Fort St. George, exhibited, in a still more striking manner, the disaffection of the Oude soldiery.

Vizier Ali, who had been deposed from the musnud of Oude by Sir John Shore, resided at Benares; and it being deemed imprudent to allow him to remain in a place so near his former dominions, it was resolved that he should be directed to remove to Calcutta. Vizier Ali remonstrated against his removal, which he at once saw would be fatal to all his insurrectionary designs. On the morning of the 14th of January, 1799, the deposed Nabob, accompanied by his usual suite of attendants, paid a visit by appointment to the house of Mr. Cherry, the British resident,

* Intelligence has recently reached England of the death of this notorious Cabul chieftain, whose projects of invasion produced so much commotion during the administrations of Sir John Shore and the Marquess Wellesley. Zemaun Shah was dethroned by his brother and blinded; and for many years had been dependant on British hospitality and bounty. He died of cholera, at Loodiana, in the month of September, 1845.

about three miles from Benares. After the usual compliments, he broke out into an invective against the order of the Government for his removal. Mr. Cherry, whose attentions, it is said, had gained his personal favour, gently requested him to moderate his resentment, when the young assassin aimed a blow with his scimitar at the British resident. Vizier Ali's attendants at once unsheathed their swords; and Mr. Cherry, in endeavouring to escape through a window, was dispatched with a poniard. Two English gentlemen who were in the room were put to death, and the assassins at once hastened to the houses of the other British inhabitants, with an intention of effecting a general massacre. They sacrificed two Englishmen in their progress; but they were so stoutly resisted by an English gentleman, who, taking his stand on a narrow staircase, defeated all their efforts to ascend, that time was given for the arrival of a party of horse, whereupon Vizier Ali and his band of murderers took to flight. He sought refuge in Oude, and was soon joined by a large force. These events created a great sensation in Lucknow; and the Nabob Vizier, Saadut Ali, was called upon to join his troops to a British force to march against Vizier Ali.* Although his throne was endangered,

* The following was written at this period :—

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JAMES H. CRAIG, TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR A. CLARKE, &c.

(Written in cypher.)

"Camp of Bibbypoor, March 3rd, 1799

"SIR,

"With respect to any treaty that Ambagee may have entered into with Vizier Ali, it does not appear from any information I can procure,

and the Nabob Vizier had strong fears for his own safety, he replied that such was the disaffected state of his troops, that he feared they would desert to the enemy if he ordered them to march against Vizier Ali. The activity of General Sir James Craig fortunately checked the progress of the assassin, and obliged the Rajah of Jypore, who had afforded him protection, to give him up to the British Government, by whom he was kept a close prisoner at Fort William.

When Lord Wellesley returned to Bengal from Madras, he proposed to the Nabob the re-organization of his military establishment, by disbanding his own mutinous troops, and at the same time permanently increasing the British force in Oude. The Nabob Vizier at first concurred; but subsequently, fearing that such a proceeding would lessen his consequence with his immediate adherents, he endea-

either that he has taken any one step toward giving him the support, or that he is in a condition that can enable him to do so. Scindiah's troops are at present much dispersed, and employed in various parts in opposing the designs of the party of the Bhyes, which seems sufficiently strong to threaten the capital of his dominions. A great, if not a principal, part of Ambagee's, is actually in march to protect it, and some of Perron's battalion are there with them. There is no doubt that very great disorder and confusion reigns in the whole country, such as would appear to be utterly incompatible with any intention of hostilities against us. As, however, it appears that such a treaty has been formed, and as, in consequence, the Honourable Vice-President in council has judged it expedient to issue the instructions contained in the letter of the Secretary to the Government of the 18th inst. it is with a particular view to these instructions that I have determined on the distribution of the troops as mentioned in my separate letter of this date. It is such as cannot give suspicion of the object in view, and it is such, as at the same time appears to me to be the best calculated to meet either purpose, or offensive or defensive hostility with Scindiah, connected with the atten-

voured, by every evasion and subterfuge which Asiatic duplicity could suggest, to frustrate the execution of the measure. In a letter, dated the 9th of February, 1800, the Governor-General addressed the following expostulation to the Vizier:—

"The duty imposed on me by my public station, and the concern which I take in your Excellency's personal honour and welfare, as well as in the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of Oude, compel me to communicate to you, in the most unqualified terms, the astonishment, regret, and indignation which your recent conduct has excited in my mind.

"In order to apprise your Excellency, in the most unequivocal manner, of the causes and objects of this letter, I propose to state my observations with reference to the following distinct propositions in your Excellency's correspondence with me, and in your declarations made to the British resident at Lucknow.

tion that is indispensable to the security of the Nawaub's dominions from internal insurrection, and taking also into consideration the expediency of not unnecessarily exposing the Europeans to the extreme heats that may soon be expected. The rise of the waters will very soon oppose an insurmountable barrier to the Mahratta's entering the provinces of Oude and Rohillund; and though the upper part of the Doab would be exposed to their ravages, these, it is hoped, would be but of short duration, as our force could be as soon assembled to march against them. The attempt to cover it by leaving a part of the troops at the cantonment of Futtyghur, while the other objects already mentioned are to be guarded against, would create such a division of our force as would leave us in a hazardous state of weakness everywhere. Should offensive operations become expedient, Culpee Etawas offer the readiest passages over the Jumna, by which to attain the heart of Scindiah's possessions, and offer immediate assistance to the leaders of the opposite party. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) J. H. Craig.

"A true copy, W. Scott, Ad. Gen."

"Your Excellency, since my arrival in India, has repeatedly complained of the ruinous condition of your internal government, and earnestly solicited my direct interference, as being indispensably necessary for the purpose of effecting a complete reform in your affairs, and especially in your military establishments.

"After having received from me a plan for the reform of your military establishments, you expressed, in the most deliberate and unqualified terms, your approbation of the same, and your hope that it would be carried into effect.

"You have recently declared to Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, that this same plan for the reform of your military establishment never, in any measure, met with your approbation or acceptance, or was deemed expedient by you.

"You have attempted, by various means, to delay, and ultimately to frustrate, the execution of the plan above mentioned, of which you had, after full deliberation, expressed your entire approbation. The means which your Excellency has employed for this purpose are calculated to degrade your character, to destroy all confidence between your Excellency and the British Government, to produce confusion and disorder in your dominions, and to injure the most important interests of the Company to such a degree as may be deemed nearly equivalent to positive hostility on your part. In the beginning of August, 1798, your Excellency informed me, by letter, that the organization of your government, which had for a long period of time been very loose and confused,

was become in the last degree ineffective and irregular; adding a request that I would instruct Mr. Lumsden (the Company's resident at Lucknow) to afford your Excellency his effectual aid in establishing your authority on a *new basis*. A variety of circumstances having rendered it impossible for me to give immediate consideration to your Excellency's representation, your Excellency, in a subsequent letter written in June, 1799, revived the subject, observing, 'It will be impossible to remove the embarrassment under which I labour until I shall have carried into effect the retrenchment of superfluous expenses, and shall have established a systematic settlement of the country and of the *military* (which is indispensable), for promoting the security and ease of the ryots,* the prosperity of the country, and the tranquillity of the people.' Your Excellency added, 'Although I have been informed by Mr. Lumsden that your Lordship has written to him upon this subject, yet nothing regarding it has been written by your Lordship to me; and I therefore hope you will repeat your orders to the resident to be aiding and assisting me in all matters, so that I may *concert with him* the means of *removing my embarrassments*, and, *with his assistance*, *carry on the affairs* of my government in a manner to produce ease and satisfaction to my mind.' Your Excellency concluded by declaring, 'I rely on your Lordship for support and assistance in everything.' Such forcible representations of the disordered state of your Excellency's government in its military as well

* Small farmers and cultivators of the soil.

as civil branches, combined with my own intimate knowledge of the actual existence of the evils so repeatedly and emphatically described by your Excellency, authorised a full confidence in the sincerity of your Excellency's reiterated wishes for my active interference in your affairs, and for my assistance in remedying the defects of which you so justly complained. I therefore determined to adopt, without delay, those measures, now apparently not less requisite for the ease and satisfaction of your Excellency's mind, than they had long been manifestly essential to the safety of your person and to the security and prosperity of your dominions. Under this impression, while yet occupied by the most important affairs at Fort St. George, I appointed Colonel Scott to reside with your Excellency, furnishing him at the same time with such instructions as appeared to me to be best calculated to enable him to accomplish the apparently earnest wishes of your Excellency for establishing an improved system of civil and military government within your dominions. In considering the course of measures best adapted to this salutary purpose, I became satisfied that it was absolutely necessary to commence with that reform of your Excellency's military forces, which your Excellency had declared to be indispensable. I was originally led to this conclusion by a review of the correspondence and negotiations which had passed between your Excellency and Mr. Lumsden, in consequence of the advance of Zemaun Shah to Lahore, towards the end of the year 1798; and I was further confirmed in my opinion by a retrospect

of the events which had followed the rebellion and flight of Vizier Ali.

"The conduct of different corps of your Excellency's army had, in several instances previously to the approach of Zemaun Shah, abundantly manifested that no reliance could be placed either in their fidelity or discipline. Many of them had mutinied, and were prevented from proceeding to acts of open violence against your Excellency's person by the presence of the Company's troops. Your Excellency, when consulted by Sir James Craig and Mr. Lumsden on the measure of defence to be adopted against the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah, declared that 'no confidence was to be placed in your troops;' and you not only avowed your military force to be inadequate to contribute any assistance towards the defence of your dominions, but required the presence of part of the British army within your capital for the express purpose of protecting your person and authority against the excesses of your own disaffected and disorderly troops, in the same moment when the services of the whole of the British army were most urgently demanded upon your Excellency's frontier to resist the approach of Zemaun Shah. Hitherto, however, the fidelity and utility of your Excellency's troops had been distrusted principally on grounds suggested by their repeated contumacy and disobedience. That they were actually capable of betraying the interests of your Excellency in a crisis of positive danger, was subsequently proved beyond a possibility of doubt by their treacherous conduct during the commotions

excited by Vizier Ali. The necessity of commencing the general improvement of your Excellency's government by a radical reform of your military establishment being then manifest, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, together with a letter which Sir Alured Clarke addressed to your Excellency by my desire, delivered to you such further explanations of the proposed measure as the occasion required. It is remarkable that the delivery of Sir Alured Clarke's letter to your Excellency had been preceded, within the short space of five days, by repeated complaints on the part of your Excellency of the turbulent and disorderly state of your troops. In the plan of reform for your military establishment, presented to your Excellency at that period of time, I proposed that the greatest part of your useless and dangerous forces should be disbanded, and should be replaced by a suitable number of the Company's troops. The reception which your Excellency gave to the proposition corresponded with the expectations which your Excellency's repeated declarations and applications to me had led me to form. Your Excellency perused the letter of Sir Alured Clarke *with satisfaction, and declared your thorough concurrence in the sentiments which it contained.* Your Excellency also, at a subsequent conference with the resident on the 5th of September, observed, of your own accord, that the proposed measure was not *impracticable, but such as you hoped might be accomplished.* It is of importance to remind your Excellency in this place that, soon after the opening of these discussions by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, a fresh mutiny broke out among your Excellency's troops,

which your Excellency was enabled to quell solely by the assistance of the British resident at Lucknow."

Having pointed out that under the seventh article of the Treaty between the Vizier and Sir John Shore, the British Government had the right of increasing the subsidiary, Lord Wellesley continued,—

"It is certain that the resources of your Excellency are inadequate to the double burthen of the proposed additional force of the company, and of your own existing military establishment. But if your resources could bear this accumulated pressure, I should still feel myself bound to require that your Excellency should reduce your own disorderly troops. The expediency of disbanding as large a proportion of your own troops as can possibly be dispensed with in the business of the revenue collections, and the purposes of ceremony and state, does not rest solely on the inefficiency of your troops in a military view, but also on their disaffection and insubordination, and on the danger with which such a body of armed men must ever menace your person and the public tranquillity in time of peace,—a danger infinitely aggravated in the season either of domestic convulsion, or of foreign attack. The dismission, therefore, of the troops in question, is not only recommended by considerations of economy, but indispensably requisite by the soundest maxims of prudential policy. So long as these troops shall be entertained, a large proportion of the Company's force must be constantly employed to maintain the peace of the country; and in the event of an invasion of your Excellency's dominions by a foreign enemy, the necessity of diverting a still more considerable part of the

British army from the defence of your frontier, for the purpose of controlling your own licentious and disaffected soldiery, would increase exactly in proportion to the magnitude and imminence of external danger. It must therefore be obvious to your Excellency, that the continuance of these dangerous troops in your service, instead of leading to a diminution of the requisite amount of the British force in Oude, would require a far more considerable augmentation of that force than any hitherto proposed.

"Having requested your Excellency to return a formal and precise answer to my detailed observations and proposals, in consequence of your Excellency's declared wish to abdicate the government, I shall abstain from entering into any minute examination of the nature of the subsequent change in your Excellency's mind, until I shall be furnished, in a regular manner, with an explicit statement of the motives which induced that change. I must, however, remark that every circumstance accompanying your Excellency's conduct, which has hitherto fallen under my observation, on this extraordinary occasion, appears to me to indicate that your Excellency never previously entertained the design of abdicating your government, however convinced of the truth of those incontestable facts which you alleged as the motives of your abdication; but that you professed such a design with the sole view of defeating, by delay, the long meditated measure of a reform of your military establishment. It is most painful to be compelled to state a charge of so serious a nature against a person of your Excellency's high rank and exalted dignity; but what other

conclusion can I draw from your Excellency's conduct, when Lieutenant-Colonel Scott informs me, that after you had engaged his attention and mine for nearly two months, by your ostensible intention to abdicate the government, you suddenly relinquished that intention, and at the same moment declared, for the first time, that if 'the reform of your military establishments were to be adopted on the principles proposed, it would annihilate your Excellency's authority in your own dominions,' although not only the general principles, but all the material details of that reform, to which you now object, have been repeatedly approved by your Excellency as being essential to the maintenance of your authority, and indispensable to the peace and safety of your dominions? But your Excellency has proceeded to other measures, of a tendency infinitely more dangerous, utterly incompatible with all your professions, and repugnant to the fundamental principles of your connection with the Company, and to every duty of friendship and honourable alliance. Lieutenant-Colonel Scott informs me, 'that your Excellency, instead of affording any cordial assistance for devising and carrying into execution a plan for the dismission of your battalions, has thrown every possible impediment in the way of that measure, by endeavouring to restrict the additional British force to one position, and by delaying to furnish Lieutenant-Colonel Scott with the statements of your military establishments repeatedly required, and absolutely necessary to the commencement of the undertaking.'

"Lieutenant-Colonel Scott informs me, that your

Excellency is equally desirous of *impeding the progress* of the *additional British troops, by exposing them to difficulties in obtaining supplies of provisions;* to prove this intention on the part of your Excellency, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott states, that although he had repeatedly applied to your Excellency for the necessary purwannahs* to your several aumils, your Excellency had not yet issued a single purwannah; the consequence of which was likely to prove not only seriously distressing to the British troops destined to the protection of your dominions, but dangerous to the peace of the country through which those troops proposed to march. It is impossible for me to express in terms of sufficient force, the sentiments which this intelligence has occasioned to my mind.

"The conduct of your Excellency in both instances stated—but more flagrantly in the last, is of a nature so unequivocally hostile, and may prove so injurious to every interest, both of your Excellency and of the Company, that your perseverance in so dangerous a course will leave no other alternative than that of considering all amicable engagements between the Company and your Excellency to be dissolved, and of regulating my subsequent proceedings accordingly. I am, however, always inclined to hope that your Excellency may have been inadvertently betrayed into these imprudent and unjustifiable measures, by the insidious suggestions of evil counsellors; and being ever averse to construe your Excellency's actions in such a manner as must compel me to regard and to treat you as a prince no longer connected with the Company by the ties of amity and

* Orders.

of a common interest, I trust that my next accounts from Lieutenant-Colonel Scott may enable me to view your Excellency's conduct in a more favourable light; but lest my wishes in this respect should be disappointed, it is my duty to warn your Excellency, in the most unreserved terms, that your Excellency alone will be responsible for all the evils which cannot fail to result from any further perseverance in the fatal and imprudent course of measures which you have recently pursued. I also think it necessary to entreat your Excellency not to delay for a moment whatever further steps may be pointed out to you by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott as necessary to effect the two urgent and indispensable objects,—namely, the reform of your military establishment, and the provision of funds for the regular monthly payment of all the Company's troops in Oude. The least omission or procrastination in either of these important points must lead to the most serious mischief."

After much protracted discussion, Lord Wellesley directed his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, to proceed to Lucknow to conduct the negotiation with the Vizier, and demand that he should make a territorial cession to the East India Company equal to the increased subsidiary force which the Governor-General had determined should be stationed within the territories of Oude; and also that in the administration of his government, he should act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Company's government. The Hon. Henry Wellesley concluded the following treaty with the Nabob Vizier.

"Whereas, by the treaty now subsisting between his Excellency the Vizier and the Honourable East India Company, the latter have engaged to defend his Excellency's dominions against all enemies; and to enable them to fulfil that engagement, his Excellency is bound, by the aforesaid treaty, to pay to the Company, in perpetuity, the annual subsidy of seventy-six lacs of Lucknow sicca rupees; and is further bound by the said treaty to defray the expense of any augmentation of force which, in addition to the number of troops stipulated in the treaty, shall be judged necessary to enable the Company to fulfil their engagements of defending his Excellency's dominions against all enemies: And whereas it is advisable that the funds for defraying these charges be established on a footing which shall admit of no fluctuation of either increase or decrease, and which shall afford satisfaction and security to the Company, in regard to the regular payment in perpetuity of all such charges: the following treaty, consisting of ten Articles, is concluded on the one part by the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott on behalf and in the name of his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General for all affairs, civil and military, of the British nation in India, by virtue of full power vested in them for this purpose by the said Governor-General; and on the other part by his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier ool Mumaulick Yemeen oo Dowlah, Nazinool Moolk, Saadut Ali Khan Bahauder, Mobaurez Jung, in behalf of himself, and his heirs and successors, for

ceding to the Honourable the English East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, certain portions of his Excellency's territorial possessions, in commutation of the former and augmented subsidy, and of all other sums of money now chargeable to his Excellency on account of the Company's defensive engagements with his Excellency.

"Art. 1. His Excellency the Nawaub Vizier hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, the undermentioned portions of his territorial possessions, amounting in the gross revenue to one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees, including expenses of collection, in commutation of the subsidy of the expenses attendant on the additional troops, and of the Benares and Furruckabad pensions:—

STATEMENT OF THE JUMMA.

*Chucklah Corah, Kuwah, and Chucklar Etawa	55,48,571	11	9
Rehr and others	5,33,374	0	6
Furruckabad and others	4,50,001	0	0
Khairaghur and others	2,10,001	0	0
Azimghur and others, Azimghur, Mownan-Bunjun	6,95,621	7	6
Goruckpore and others, Goruckpore 5,09,853 8 0 / and Butwul, Butwul 0,40,001 0 0	5,49,854	8	0
Soobah of Allahabad and others . . .	9,34,963	1	3
Chuckla Barcilly, Asophabad, and Kelssory .	43,13,457	11	3
Nawaub Gunje, Rehly, and others . . .	1,19,242	12	0
Mohoul and others, with the exception of the Talook of Arwul	1,68,378	4	0
Total Jumma, Lucknow sicca rupees	1,35,23,474	8	3

"The above-mentioned Mohauls being ceded to the Honourable Company, as held by the Aumils in

* A division of land.

the year 1208 Fusli, no claims are hereafter to be made on account of villages or lands, which in former years may have been added to, or separated from, the said Mohauls.

" Art. 2. The subsidy, which by the second article of the treaty of 1798, his Excellency engaged to pay to the Company (now that territory is assigned in lieu thereof, and of the expenses of the additional troops) is to cease for ever; and his Excellency is released from the obligation of defraying the expenses of any additional troops which at any time may be required for the protection of Oude and its dependencies, whether of the countries ceded to the Company, or to the territories which shall remain in possession of his Excellency the Vizier.

" Art. 3. The Honourable the East India Company hereby engage to defend the territories which will remain to his Excellency the Vizier against all foreign and domestic enemies; provided always, that it be in the power of the Company's Government to station the British troops in such parts of his Excellency's dominions as shall appear to the said Government most expedient; and provided further, that his Excellency, retaining in his pay four battalions of infantry, one battalion of Nejeebs and Mewatties, two thousand horsemen, and to the number of three hundred godandaury, shall dismiss the remainder of his troops, excepting such number of armed peons as shall be deemed necessary for the purpose of the collections, and a few horsemen and Nejeebs to attend the persons of the Aumils.

" Art. 4. A detachment of the British troops, with

a proportion of artillery, shall at all times be attached to his Excellency's person.

"Art. 5. That the true intent and meaning of the first, second, third, and fourth articles of the treaty may be clearly understood, it is hereby declared, that the territorial cessions being in lieu of the subsidy, and of all expenses on account of the Company's defensive engagements with his Excellency, no demand whatever shall be made upon the territory of his Excellency on account of expenses which the Honourable Company may incur by assembling forces to repel the attack or menaced attack of a foreign enemy, on account of the detachment attached to his Excellency's person, on account of troops which may occasionally be furnished for suppressing rebellions or disorders in his Excellency's territories, on account of any future change of military station, or on account of failure in the resources of the ceded districts, arising from unfavourable seasons, the calamities of war, or any other cause whatsoever.

"Art. 6. The territories ceded to the Honourable Company by the first article of this treaty shall be subject to the exclusive management and control of the said Company and their officers; and the Honourable the East India Company hereby guarantee to his Excellency the Vizier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which will remain to his Excellency after the territorial cession, together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions. His Excellency engages that he will establish, in his reserved dominions, such a system of administration (to be carried into

effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and his Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable Company.

" Art. 7. The districts ceded by the first article of this treaty shall be delivered over to the Company's officers from the commencement of the Fusli year 1209, corresponding with the 22nd of September, A.D. 1801; and his Excellency will continue to pay the subsidy and expense of the additional troops from his treasury, in the same manner as hitherto observed, until the Company's officers shall have obtained complete possession from his Excellency's officers of the countries so ceded. The Company will not claim any payment of subsidy from his Excellency's treasury after their officers shall have obtained possession of the said districts from the officers of his Excellency.

" Art. 8.—The contracting parties, with a view of establishing such a commercial intercourse between their respective dominions as shall be mutually beneficial to the subjects of both states, hereby agree to frame a separate commercial treaty. In the meantime, it is agreed that the navigation of the Ganges, and of all other rivers where they may form the mutual boundary of the two states shall be free, and uninterrupted,—that is to say, that no boats passing up and down the Ganges, or other rivers, where they form the mutual boundaries of both states, shall be stopped or molested for duties; nor shall

any duties be exacted from boats which put in to the possessions of either of the contracting parties, without intention of landing their goods. It shall, however, be in the power of both Governments to levy such duties as they may think proper on goods imported into, or exported from, their respective dominions, not exceeding the present usage. It is further stipulated, that no exemption from duties on articles purchased in his Excellency's reserved dominions, for the consumption of the troops stationed within the ceded territories, shall be claimed after they shall have been delivered over to the Company's officers.

"Art. 9. All the articles of former treaties for establishing and cementing the union and friendship subsisting between the two states, are to continue in full force; and all the articles of the treaty concluded by the late Governor-General Sir John Shore, on the part of the Honourable the East India Company, and his Excellency the Vizier, in the year 1798, not annulled by this treaty, are to remain in force, and continue binding upon both contracting parties.

"Art. 10.—This treaty, consisting of ten articles, having been settled and concluded in the city of Lucknow on the tenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1801, corresponding with the second of the month of Rejeb, in the year 1216, Hegira, the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott have delivered to the said Vizier one copy of the same in English and Persian, sealed and signed by them; and his Excellency the Vizier

has delivered to the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott another copy also in English and Persian, bearing his seal and signature; and the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott engage to procure and deliver to his Excellency the Vizier, within the space of thirty days, a copy of the same under the seal and signature of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, when the copy under their seal and signature shall be returned."

Lord Wellesley immediately ratified the treaty; and, having issued a commission, appointing the Hon. Henry Wellesley, made preparations to visit Lucknow in person.

The following is a journal of the route of the Marquess Wellesley to the upper provinces:

JOURNAL.

"His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, having appointed Saturday the 15th of August, 1801, for his embarkation from Fort William, for the purpose of visiting the upper provinces, his Excellency, attended by the officers of his suite, and by a detachment of the body-guard, proceeded from the Government-house to Chandpaul Ghaut, through the street formed by the troops in garrison; the several corps receiving his Excellency with the usual honours.

"His Excellency was accompanied to the place of his embarkation by the Hon. Sir. J. Anstruther, Major-General Popham, and by many of the officers and gentlemen of the settlement.

"His Excellency embarked on board the *Soonamooky* yacht, between five and six in the morning, under a salute of nineteen guns from the ramparts of Fort William, and proceeded up the river; the ships in the port saluting as he passed.

"*Tuesday* 18*th*.—His Excellency having held a council at Barrackpore, in which he nominated P. Speke, Esq., to be Vice-President in council and Deputy-Governor of Fort William, proceeded in the yacht, attended by his suite, on his progress to the upper provinces; and on the same day reached Chinsurah, where his Excellency landed and was entertained at dinner on that and the succeeding evening by Mr. Birch, the commissioner of that settlement.

"*Wednesday* 19*th*.—His Excellency proceeded on his voyage, accompanied by Sir Home Popham, who had joined him at Barrackpore. On the 24th, Sir H. Popham returned to Calcutta.

"*Wednesday* 26*th*.—His Excellency reached Dowdpore, where the Nabob of Bengal, who had come from Murshedabad to meet his Lordship, had stationed his boats. The unfavourable state of the weather prevented the Governor-General from receiving the visit of the Nabob of Bengal until the 30th: after that ceremony had been concluded, his Excellency the Governor-General sailed for Berhampore, which station he reached on the 31st. The troops of the cantonment were drawn up along the bank of the river, and saluted his Excellency as he sailed past.

"*September* 1*st*.—His Excellency landed at Berhampore, and was entertained at dinner by Mr. T. Pattle, senior judge of the Court of Circuit and Ap-

peal at Murshedabad; and on the 2nd, his Excellency, attended by the officers of his suite and a party of the body-guard, inspected the troops of the cantonment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wood. After which, his Excellency breakfasted with Colonel Wood; and at ten o'clock held a levee and gave audience until twelve, at which hour he also held a durbar for the native inhabitants of the district. In the evening of the same day his Excellency dined with Mr. Rocke, second judge of the Court of Appeal and Circuit; and on the 3rd, early in the morning, the Governor-General took his departure from Berhampore: the troops in the cantonment, being drawn up on the banks of the river, saluted his Excellency at his departure. On the same evening the yacht anchored nearly opposite to the palace of the Nabob of Bengal; to whom and to the Begums his Excellency paid a visit of ceremony on the morning of the 4th, being attended by all the civil and military officers of his suite, by a party of the body-guard, and by a captain's guard of European infantry sent from the regiment stationed at Berhampore.

"His Excellency, after having visited the Nabob of Bengal on the 4th, left Murshedabad and arrived at Jangipoor on the 6th. On the 10th his Excellency passed Rajmahal, and arrived at Culgong on the 14th, and Bhagulpoor on the 16th.

"The Governor-General landed at Bhagulpoor, and remained at the house of Mr. Fombelle, the judge and magistrate of that district, until the 19th, when his Lordship departed from Bhagulpoor, and

reached Mongheer on the 21st, where he landed under a salute from the fort, and was received by Major-General Brisco, and the officers of the station. The Governor-General resided in the house of Major-General Brisco during his Lordship's continuance at Mongheer, and was entertained at dinner by Major-General Ellerker at Peerpuhar on the 26th.

October 2nd. — His Excellency proceeded to Patna, and arrived at that city on the 6th; where he was received, on landing, by the civil officers of the station, accompanied by whom his Excellency proceeded to the house of Mr. Leslie, the second judge, where his Lordship resided until the 23rd, having been entertained at dinner during his residence at Patna by Mr. Keating the Chief Judge, and by several of the civil officers of the station.

The Governor-General proceeded to Dinapore* on the 24th of October, where he arrived on the 26th. The troops were drawn up in the square of that cantonment to salute his Excellency as he passed to the quarter prepared for him. On the 27th his Excellency reviewed the troops, and the 18th regiment of native infantry received their honorary colours in his presence. During his residence at Dinapore, his Excellency was entertained at dinner by the commanding officer, Colonel Dunkley, the second in command, Major Davidson, and by the officers of the cantonment.

* "Dinapore, the cantonment itself, is the largest and handsomest which I have seen, with a very fine quay, looking like a battery to the river; and I think three extensive squares of barracks, uniformly built of one lofty ground-story, well-raised, stuccoed, and ornamented with arcaded windows and pillars between them."—*Heber.*

The Governor-General left Dinapore on the 30th of October, and arrived on the 5th of November at the fort of Buxar,* where he resided in the house of Lieutenant-Colonel Stafford, the commanding officer. On the 7th, his Lordship held a durbar at the fort of Buxar, where he received the Rajah of Benares, who had proceeded down the river to meet the Governor-General. On the 8th his Lordship proceeded to Ghazepore,† which place he reached on the 10th, and was received under the usual salute of cannon. The troops of the station were drawn up to salute his Excellency as he passed to Lieutenant-Colonel Pringle's house, where his Lordship was entertained during his residence at Ghazepore. On the 11th his Excellency reviewed the troops at

* "I found Buxar (which I expected to see a little ruinous fort, remarkable only as the scene of the battle which confirmed the British in the possession of Bengal and Bahar) a large and respectable Mussulman town, with several handsome mosques, one of the largest and neatest bazaars I had ever seen, and some good-looking European bungalows."—*Heber.*

† Ghazepore is another large town or city, and from the river very striking, though, like all Indian cities, its noblest buildings, on approaching them, turn out to be ruins. The river, though narrower than I have been lately accustomed to see it, is still as wide as the Hoogly at Cossipoor. At the eastern extremity of the town is a very handsome, though ruined palace, built by the Nawâb Cassim Ali Khân, the most airy and best contrived, so far as can be perceived from its outward appearance of any of the eastern buildings which I have seen. At the other extremity of the town, and separated from it by gardens and scattered cottages, are the houses of the civil servants of the company, mostly with ground-floors only, but large and handsome; and beyond these is the military cantonment, ugly, low, bungalows, but deriving some advantage from the trees with which they are surrounded and intermingled. The most conspicuous object among them, is the monument to Lord Cornwallis, who died here on his way up the country. The whole country of Ghazepore is fertile in corn, pasture, and fruit-trees.

Ghazepore, and on the 12th proceeded to Benares, at which city he arrived on the 15th.

On the 24th of November, at Benares, his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General received official accounts of *the surrender of Alexandria to the British arms*. This intelligence was immediately announced by a royal salute; and, in the evening, the troops stationed at Benares, and those forming the Governor-General's escort, were paraded, and fired three volleys in honour of this important event.

On the same day the Governor-General received in his tents the visits of three of the Princes of the royal family of Hindostan, who had resided for some years in the city of Benares.*

The Princes who visited his Excellency were Prince Mirza Khorum, Mirza Shegooftuh Bukht (commonly called Mirza Hadjee), and Mirza Alli Khuddur, all

* "Benares is a very remarkable city; more entirely and characteristically eastern than any other I have yet seen. No Europeans live in the town, nor are the streets wide enough for a wheeled carriage. The houses are mostly lofty; most of them three stories, many five or six. The streets (like those of Chester) are lower than the ground-floor of the houses. Above, the houses are richly embellished with verandhas, galleries, projecting oriel windows, and very broad and overhanging eaves, supported by carved brackets. The number of temples is very great. Sacred bulls devoted to Siva, tame and familiar as mastiffs, walked lazily up and down the streets, or were seen lying across them. Sacred monkeys are in many parts equally numerous, putting their impertinent heads or hands in every fruiterer's or confectioner's shop, and snatching food from the children at their meals. Fakir's houses occur at every turning, and mendicants of every Hindoo sect literally line the principal streets on both sides. It is the great mart where the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of Dacca centre; and it has considerable silk, cotton, and fine manufactories of its own. The population in 1803, was five hundred and eighty-two thousand."—*Heber.*

sons of the late Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, and grandsons of Shah Allum, the King of Delhi. The Governor-General was attended on this occasion by Major-General Deare, and all the civil and military officers of his Excellency's suite, and by the civil and military officers stationed at Benares. Their Royal Highnesses were severally saluted by the whole of the troops of the station and of those forming the Governor-General's escort, and received a royal salute on their arrival and departure, with every other honour due to their rank. After the departure of the Princes his Excellency held a durbar, which was attended by the Rajah of Benares, and by all the principal natives of the place. On the 25th his Excellency gave a public breakfast in his tent to the ladies and gentlemen of Benares, and to the officers of his Lordship's escort.

On the 26th the Governor-General, attended by Major-General Deare, and the principal civil and military officers of his Excellency's suite, and those of the station of Benares, returned the visits of the Princes at their respective places of residence in the city of Benares. The Governor-General also visited her Royal Highness the Kuttuck Sultauna Begum, the widow of the late Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, and mother of the Prince Mirza Khorum.

On the 27th the Governor-General received a congratulatory address from the European inhabitants of the district of Benares, on the occasion of the surrender of Alexandria:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE RICHARD MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.P., CAPTAIN-GENERAL, AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, ETC.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"We the European inhabitants of Benares, impelled no less by the highest respect and admiration of your Excellency's character, than by an ardent love of our native country, cannot refrain from offering to your Excellency our sincerest congratulations on the late glorious success of the British arms in Egypt. While we exult in the general effect of your Excellency's administration, which has, in the short space of three years, extended and consolidated the British empire in Egypt, in a degree which must ever be contemplated with astonishment, we cannot repress the emotions which are, on the present occasion, excited in our minds by a consideration of the prompt and vigorous manner in which resources, so recently acquired, were applied by your Excellency to aid the general cause of the British empire: and when we rejoice, as Britons, at the glorious success which has followed the animated exertions of our brave countrymen in Egypt, we feel indebted to your Excellency for the proud reflection that a force from British India has coöperated in this important service; and that a part of the army which so lately entitled itself to the approbation of its sovereign and its country by the reduction of Seringapatam, is at

this moment employed on the shores of the Mediterranean. .

"The casual, but to us fortunate, occurrence of your Excellency's having received the intelligence of the fall of Alexandria, and the total expulsion of the French from Egypt at this place, has suggested the idea of the present address, which we confidently hope your Excellency will graciously accept as the honest and unpremeditated effusion of sentiments, which we are conscious of only entertaining in common with the rest of our countrymen in India.

(Signed.)	G. Deare.	J. Neave.
	P. Treves.	J. Rider.
	J. Durrant.	H. Cornish.
	W. G. Maxwell.	T. Yeld.
	F. Hamilton.	J. Melk.
	J. Stewart.	F. Wilford.
	G. Warden.	G. Forbes.
	W. Baker.	H. Colebrook.
	W. Wilson.	J. Routledge.
	J. A. Grant.	J. Dubois.
	R. Adams.	J. J. Bird.
	R. Ahmuty.	J. T. Grant.
	G. Pennington.	B. D'Aquilar.
	G. Robinson.	P. Starling.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ANSWER.

"Gentlemen,

"I accept with most sincere satisfaction this testimony of your constant and unabated zeal for the interests and honour of our country. The glorious success of his Majesty's arms in Egypt must raise in the mind of every British subject the emotions and sentiments which you have expressed.

"In obeying the wise and provident commands of his Majesty's Ministers, and the Honourable Court of Directors, for the invasion of Egypt from India, I was happy to afford a convincing proof of the extensive and vigorous resources of these flourishing dominions, and of the effectual aid to be derived from this part of the empire in maintaining the arduous cause in which we are engaged.

"My orders in this important crisis have been carried into effect by every subordinate, civil, and military officer whom I have employed, with the same anxious desire to participate in the danger and honour of the war, which I have uniformly experienced since the commencement of my administration. This address is dictated by a similar spirit; and I deem it to be an indispensable article of my duty to encourage and animate in the heart of every British subject, resident under my authority, sentiments equally calculated to maintain, in these distant possessions, the purity of our character, and the stability of our power.

"I receive with cordial gratitude the flattering terms in which you have conveyed your favourable opinion of the general tenor of my administration; the confidence which you are pleased to repose in me will greatly contribute to my happiness, if it shall enable me to confirm, in your minds, a respect for the British Government, an affectionate attachment to our country, and an honourable pride in the honest and zealous discharge of the important duties of your respective stations. (Signed) WELLESLEY."

On the 29th, the Governor-General left Benares under the usual military honours, and proceeded to Ramnagher, the residence of the Rajah of Benares. His Excellency was received on landing by the Rajah, attended by whom he visited the house, and the adjacent buildings and gardens. His Lordship returned to the yacht and proceeded on towards Chunar.*

The Governor-General resided at Benares, at the house of Major-General Deare; and in the course of his residence there, was entertained by that officer, by Mr. Neave, second judge of the Court of Appeals, and acting agent for the Governor-General at Benares; and by the principal civil officers of the station.

On the 3rd of December, the Governor-General arrived at Mirzapoor,† and proceeded to the house of Mr. Colebrooke, judge and magistrate, where his Lordship resided during his stay at that place. Colonel Collins, resident at the court of Scindiah, who had joined his Lordship at Benares, took leave of his Excellency to return to Futty Ghur on the 4th inst. On the evening of the same day, the Hon. Henry Wellesley joined his Lordship from Lucknow, and proceeded on the 7th of December with the Go-

* The view of Chunar is from the river very striking. Its fortress, which is of great extent, covers the crest and sides of a large and high rock, with several successive enclosures of walls and towers, the lowest of which have their base washed by the Ganges.

† Mirzapoor, a place of considerable size and opulence, has grown up completely since the English power has been established here. It contains between two or three hundred thousand people.

vernor-General towards Allahabad, where his Excellency arrived on the evening of the 11th.

The Governor-General landed on the following morning under the usual salute from the fort; the troops of the garrison, and those composing his Excellency's escort being drawn up to salute his Excellency as he passed. His Excellency was received on landing by Lieutenant-Colonel Kyd, commanding Allahabad, and by the principal officers of the garrison; and proceeded to the house of Lieutenant-Colonel Kyd, where his Lordship resided.

On the 26th, the Governor-General, attended by the Hon. H. Wellesley, Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces, proceeded by land from Allahabad* to Cawnpore, accompanied by an escort of European and native cavalry and infantry.

On the 3rd of January, 1802, Almas Ali Khan, with other officers, deputed by the Nabob Vizier, met the Governor-General, and attended on his march.

On the 4th, the Hon. H. Wellesley left the Governor-General and proceeded to Corah; and on the 5th, his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, attended by the officers of the staff, and by Major-General Stuart, met the Governor-General, and was received with the honours due to his rank.

On the 5th, the Governor-General, accompanied by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and by

* Allahabad stands in, perhaps, the most favourable situation which India affords for a great city, in a dry and healthy soil, on a triangle, at the junction of the two mighty streams, Gunga and Jumna, with an easy communication with Bombay and Madras, and capable of being fortified, so as to become almost impregnable.

Major-General Stuart, arrived at Cawnpore.* Major-General St. John, at the head of the troops of the station, received his Lordship; the troops forming a street to the house prepared for the residence of his Lordship during his continuance at that cantonment. The Governor-General held a levee immediately after his arrival, at which the officers of that cantonment were presented to his Lordship.

On the 17th, the Nabob Vizier, attended by his five younger sons, by the British resident at his court, by the chief officers of his court, and by many of the principal inhabitants of Lucknow, (from which city the Nabob Vizier had come to meet the Governor-General,) arrived in the vicinity of Cawnpore, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges, opposite to that cantonment. The Nabob Vizier was accompanied by a large body of troops.

On the 18th, the Governor-General was present at an entertainment given by the Commander-in-Chief, in honour of her Majesty's birthday.

On the 19th, his Lordship received in his tents the visit of the Nabob Vizier, the troops of the station being drawn up in line for the reception of the Nabob Vizier; a royal salute was fired on his Excellency's arrival at the Governor-General's tents, and the same on his departure. The Nabob Vizier was attended on that occasion by his sons, and by many of the principal officers of his court.

On the 20th, the Governor-General returned the visit of the Nabob Vizier at the Vizier's camp.

* Cawnpore is a place of great extent, the cantonments being six miles from one extremity to the other, but of a very scattered population. There are many handsome mosques, and the view of the town from the course gives quite the idea of a city.

On the 21st, the Governor-General entertained the Nabob Vizier at dinner in his tents.

On the 22nd, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces, who had arrived at Cawnpore from Corah, on the 16th proceeded towards Canouge.

On the same day the Nabob Vizier and his sons were present at a ball given by the Governor-General in his tents, when the Governor-General presented to the Nabob Vizier two large state tents, ornamented with embossed cloth of British manufacture.

On the 23rd, the Governor-General held a durbar for the reception of the natives of rank, at which were presented the Nabob Emdaud, Hussain Khan, Nabob of Furruckabad, and his minister, Khirrud Mund Khan, (who came to Cawnpore to wait on his Lordship,) together with many persons of distinction, several of the Nabob Vizier's officers, the Vakeels of the several chieftains of Hindostan residing at Lucknow, and other persons of consideration.

On the 25th, the Governor-General breakfasted with the Nabob Vizier at his camp; and on the 26th, the Nabob departed for Lucknow."*

* Lucknow, the capital of the kingdom of Oude, stands on the south bank of the Goomty river in 26°, 51′, N. lat., and 80°, 56′, E. long. distant from Benares one hundred and eighty-nine miles; from Agra two hundred miles; from Delhi, two hundred and eighty miles; and from Calcutta six hundred and fifty miles. Lucknow consists of three distinct quarters: the oldest part contains three hundred thousand inhabitants; the second consists of one handsome street with a well-built market-place in the centre, and with smaller streets branching from it at right angles. The royal palace and gardens are furnished and laid out in the European style. The dwelling of the British resident adjoins the palace. The remaining quarter of the city is built in a purely Oriental fashion.

During the residence of the Governor-General at Cawnpore, his Excellency, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, reviewed the troops at that station, in line and in separate corps, and expressed in public orders the highest satisfaction at their appearance, discipline, and performance. His Excellency during his residence at Cawnpore, was entertained at dinner by the Commander-in-Chief, by Major-General St. John, and by his Majesty's field-officers at that station.

On the 30th of January, the Governor-General left Cawnpore, and proceeded to Lucknow with an escort of European and native cavalry, and infantry.

On the 3rd of February, the Governor-General was met by the Nabob Vizier at the distance of six miles from Lucknow, with a numerous train of attendants; and was conducted with every mark of respect and honour through the city of Lucknow to the Vizier's palace, where his Lordship was entertained at breakfast. After which, the Governor-General paid a visit to Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the British resident at Lucknow, from whose house his Lordship proceeded to the house of the late Major-General Martin, near the city of Lucknow, which had been prepared by the Nabob for his Lordship's reception.

On the 8th, the Nabob Vizier entertained the Governor-General at dinner. On that occasion a magnificent illumination was displayed at the Nabob's palace; and the entertainment was closed by a splendid exhibition of fireworks.

On the 16th, the Governor-General and the Na-

bob Vizier visited Mirza Solymaun Sheko, second son of his Majesty Shah Allum. The Governor-General also visited the Begum, the mother of the Nabob Vizier.

On the 18th, the Prince Mirza Solymaun Sheko returned the Governor-General's visit; and on the same day the Governor-General received the visits of the Nabob Vizier's brothers.

On the 20th, the Governor-General visited the Begum, widow of the late Vizier Assof-ud-Dowlah.

Previously to the Governor-General's departure from Lucknow, his Lordship was entertained by the Nabob Vizier's sons at dinner, and with a magnificent display of fireworks.

On the 22nd, the Governor-General was present at the Nabob Vizier's palace at the ceremony of the investiture of the Nabob Vizier's second son, Mirza Ahmed Alli Khan, with a khelaût, on occasion of his provisional appointment to the temporary charge of affairs, during the eventual absence of the Nabob Vizier from his dominions. The Governor-General was entertained on that occasion by the Nabob Vizier at dinner, and with an exhibition of fireworks.

Previously to the departure of the Governor-General from Lucknow, his Lordship, accompanied by the Nabob Vizier, visited Almass Alli Khan.

The Governor-General was entertained at dinner by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the British resident at the court of Oude.

The Governor-General, during his residence at Lucknow, held a levee for European gentlemen; and a durbar for the reception of the natives of rank.

On the 24th, the Nabob Vizier visited the Governor-General, and held a conference with his Lordship for the final adjustment of all points of public business. On that occasion the Nabob Vizier appointed his second son, Mirza Ahmed Alli Khan, to be the executive prime minister for the affairs of Oude. The Governor-General having declined the Nabob Vizier's offer of accompanying his Lordship during a part of his march from Lucknow; on his Lordship's return to the Presidency, the Vizier took leave of the Governor-General on the 24th.

On the 26th, the Governor-General left Lucknow, and commenced his march on his return to the presidency, with the same escort which had attended him to Lucknow.

On the 2nd of March, Almass Alli Khan (who had been dispatched by the Nabob Vizier to attend the Governor-General through the country under his charge,) took leave of the Governor-General, and was invested by his Lordship with a khelaût.*

In the evening of the 4th, the Governor-General inspected the 14th regiment of native infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, at Sultaunpoor.

On the 6th, Rhemut Alli Khan, brother of Almass Alli Khan, who had been appointed by the Nabob Vizier to attend the Governor-General to the frontier of the Nabob's dominions, took leave, and was invested with a khelaût. Rajah Bhawaung Pershaud, who accompanied Rhemut Alli Khan, was also invested with a khelaût; on the same day, Rajah

* Khelaûts are honorary dresses presented by the Governor-General.

Newaz Sing, Aumil of the district of Sultaunpoor, who attended his Lordship through that district, also took leave, and was invested with a khelaût.

On the 8th, the Governor-General arrived at Juanpore, and resided at the house of Mr. Welland, judge of that Zillah.

On the 10th, the Governor-General arrived at Benares, and proceeded to the house of Major-General Deare; and on the 15th the Governor-General embarked, and proceeded down the river for the presidency.

On the 17th, the Governor-General arrived at Buxar, and remained at that station until the 19th, at the house of Lieutenant-Colonel Stafford.

On the 22nd, the Governor-General reached Dinapore, and was received on his landing by Major-General Frazer, by whom his Excellency was entertained the same day at dinner.

On the 23rd, the Governor-General arrived at Patna, and on the 29th at Mongheer, where he was received on his landing by Major-General Ellerker, at whose house the Governor-General remained until the 30th of March.

On the 4th of April, the Governor-General arrived at Bogwangolah; and on the 6th, landed and proceeded to the house of Mr. Pattle, senior judge of the Court of Circuit and Appeals at Murshedabad.

On the evening of the 6th, the Governor-General received the visit of the Nabob Nausir-al-Mulk.

On the 7th, the Governor-General returned the visit of the Nabob, and at the same time visited the Nabob Munnee Begum, Bubboo Begum, mother of

the late Nabob Mobarekud Dowlah, and the Begum, mother of the Nabob Nausir-ul-Mulk.

His Lordship resided at the house of Mr. Pattle until the 8th, when he proceeded to Plassey, where tents were pitched for his Lordship's accommodation. His Excellency was entertained at Plassey, at dinner, by Major-General Brisco.

On the 9th, the Governor-General proceeded to Jugdunpore, where his Lordship was entertained at dinner in his tent, by Sir A. Seton, the collector of Nudded.

On the 10th, the Governor-General arrived at Kishenagur, and resided at the house of Mr. Oldfield, judge of Nudded.

On the 11th, the Governor-General proceeded to Santipore, and resided at the house of Mr. Philpot, the commercial resident at that station, until the 12th, when his Lordship proceeded to the house of Mr. Brooke, judge and magistrate at Hoogly. The Honourable the Vice-President met the Governor-General at Hoogly on the 13th, and on the same day his Excellency was entertained by Mr. Birch at Chinsurah; and on the 14th, accompanied by the Vice-President, he proceeded from Hoogly, and arrived at Barrackpore, and was received upon his arrival by Mr. Udny, member of the Supreme Council, by Major-General Popham, and the staff of the presidency, and by the principal civil officers of the Government. A salute was fired at the Danish settlement of Serampore,* as his Excellency passed on the opposite side of the river.

* "Serampore is a handsome place, kept beautifully clean, and looking

On the 20th, his Excellency arrived at Fort William from the Upper Provinces, attended by his suite and by a detachment of the body-guard. All the troops in garrison were drawn up in a street extending from the southern extremity of Old Court House Street, to the Government House, through which his Excellency passed.

At the entrance of the Government House, his Excellency was received by the Honourable the Vice-President and Deputy-Governor of Fort William, by Mr. Udny, member of the Supreme Council, and by the principal civil and military officers of Government at the presidency. When his Excellency quitted his carriage, the usual salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company, delayed pronouncing an opinion on the merits of Lord Wellesley's policy respecting Oude till they were in complete possession of all the circumstances connected with the negotiations. In a dispatch to the Governor-General, dated 19th of November, 1803, they intimate their full approbation of the arrangements which his Excellency had concluded:—

"Having taken," the Secret Committee observe, "into our consideration the treaty lately concluded between the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier, and ratified by his Lordship on the 10th of November, 1801, we have now to signify our approbation of the provisions of that treaty. We consider

more an European town than Calcutta or any of its neighbouring cantonments. Since the period of the Copenhagen rupture the settlement has grievously declined."—*Bishop Heber's Journal*, 1823.

the stipulations therein contained as calculated to improve and secure the interests of the Vizier, as well as those of the Company; and to provide more effectually hereafter for the good government and prosperity of Oude, and consequently for the happiness of its native inhabitants."

The Court of Directors were not so tardy in the expression of their sentiments relative to the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley, as Lieutenant-Governor of Oude. At this period they became possessed with the notion, (which was, in reality, a most mistaken one,) that the Marquess Wellesley entertained a wish to reduce and limit the powers and chartered privileges of the East India Company. On this ground they promptly resented Mr. H. Wellesley's appointment, "as a virtual supercession of the just rights" of the civil servants of the Company, who alone, according to the charter of the Honourable Company, were eligible for employment in the civil service of the government of India. Disregarding altogether Mr. H. Wellesley's services in Oude, (which they very highly approved of,) the Directors peremptorily ordered, "that Mr. Wellesley be removed forthwith;"—and some whispered that the object of the Marquess Wellesley in his arrangements, was to provide lucrative places for his brothers.

The Board of Control, however, interposed its authority, prohibiting the Court of Directors from interfering with the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley on the following grounds:—First, because the service to which Mr. Wellesley was appointed, being not in the fixed and ordinary line of the Company's

service, and not permanent, but extraordinary and temporary, it did not appear that the rights of the covenanted servants, or the law which prescribed the mode of supplying vacancies, were infringed; secondly, because occasions might occur in which, for extraordinary duties, the employment of persons without the line of the Company's service might be expedient; thirdly, because if there existed any such cases, it was proper to wait for the reasons of the Governor-General, before a decision was pronounced; especially as Mr. Wellesley, it was probable, would have resigned his office, before the order for his removal could be received; *and as he had disinterestedly declined all emoluments beyond the amount of what would have belonged to him, as private secretary to the Governor-General.**

* Henry Wesley, or Wellesley, G.C.B., was born January 20, 1773. His first appointment was as secretary to the British embassy at Stockholm. In 1797, he accompanied Lord Malmesbury, the Ambassador-Extraordinary, to Lisle, and afterwards went with Lord Wellesley to India as Private Secretary to the Governor-General. In 1801, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Oude; and after his return to England in 1805, a Lord of the Treasury. He subsequently succeeded the Marquess Wellesley as Envoy-Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Spain. In 1807 he was appointed Joint-Secretary to the Treasury, and was returned as representative in Parliament for the borough of Eye, in the county of Suffolk. In 1803 he married Charlotte, second daughter of the Earl of Cadogan, and had issue three sons, Henry, William, and Gerald, and one daughter, Charlotte. He was divorced from his lady in 1810; and in the year 1816, married Georgiana Charlotte Augusta, daughter of James, first Marquess of Salisbury, by whom he had issue one daughter, Georgiana Charlotte Mary. Having for years been his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at the court of Vienna, and being sworn a member of the Privy Council, he was on the 2nd of January, 1828, raised to the peerage by letters patent as Baron Cowley of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset. Lord Cowley is now her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris.

These discussions naturally generated feelings of estrangement between the Governor-General and the Court of Directors, which subsequently broke out into open differences upon the questions of Free Trade and Fort William College. Lord Wellesley, who was conscious of not being actuated in respect to his brother by sordid motives, thought that he had been treated with a want of generosity by those in whose service he had spent so much energy: on the other hand, the contracted jealousies of the then members of the Court of Directors, led them to imagine that the Marquess, whose fame filled Europe and Asia, would in the end endeavour to subvert their authority, and interfere with the monopolies enjoyed by the Company. As soon as the objects for which he had been appointed were accomplished, the Hon. Henry Wellesley resigned the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Oude.

But although the Court of Directors had, after the most mature consideration, expressed their approbation of the new treaty with the Vizier of Oude, which was also sanctioned by every person of authority in India; and though the courteous reception which the Vizier gave to the Marquess Wellesley on his visit to Lucknow, and the cheerful and voluntary aid rendered by that Prince in the prosecution of the subsequent war with the Mahrattas, showed that, however wounded his feelings or excited his fears might have been at first, he speedily became reconciled to a treaty which conferred advantages on himself, on his subjects, and the Company,—the conduct of Lord Wellesley and the Hon.

Henry Wellesley in respect of Oude, was made the subject of the most violent denunciations in Parliament; which were re-echoed by various publications, eager to espouse the cause of the oppressed against great public delinquents, or even those against whom a *primâ facie* case of suspicion attached. How was it possible for any one, necessarily in utter ignorance of the real merits of the transactions, to read unmoved in those days of impeachments, the following passages from the articles of accusation against the Governor-General of India?—

"That notwithstanding the embarrassment and danger arising from *intrigues so perfidious*,—notwithstanding the alarming *threats* and *personal insults* from the said Henry Wellesley daily received,—notwithstanding the great numbers and menacing attitude of the Company's troops,—notwithstanding the orders for a seizure, by hostile means, of the whole of the dominions of Oude, had actually been issued by the said Marquess Wellesley; all this notwithstanding, the Nabob Vizier did, until he had exhausted every means of remonstrance, until resistance could no longer be continued without imminent danger to his life, and to the lives of his family, withhold his assent from and decidedly reject the treaty of cession as aforesaid; under the mask of which treaty, but in fact by force of arms, the said Marquess Wellesley did wrest from the said Nabob Vizier a territory yielding an annual revenue of one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees (or 1,682,500*l.*). That though the said Nabob Vizier, thus persecuted and plundered, dreading further acts of injustice

and violence, and anxiously wishing for the future to be free from the interference of British amity and advice, most earnestly besought the said Marquess Wellesley to leave him the sole management of the territory unto the said Nabob Vizier now remaining; the said Marquess Wellesley by means of, and in concert with, his brother aforesaid, did, in manner and terms the most haughty and insulting, reject the said request,—guaranteeing unto the said Nabob Vizier and his heirs the sovereignty of the said remaining territory solely upon the condition that they should hold it under such a system of administration as might be recommended by the officers of the said East India Company: and that this injurious and degrading condition was, by the said Marquess Wellesley, imposed under the impudent pretext of its being necessary, in order to secure the fulfilment of the treaty of 1798;* according to the letter as well as the spirit of which treaty the whole of the dominions of Oude were guaranteed to the Nabob Vizier and his heirs for ever, with 'full authority over his said dominions, his household affairs, his troops and his subjects.' That proceeding in the completing of a triumph so inglorious, the said Marquess Wellesley, by means of and in concert with his said brother Henry Wellesley, did at the moment of his taking possession of the territories to the Company ceded as aforesaid, impose new and unprecedented burdens upon the people, augmenting in a proportion of nearly one half the revenues from them before collected, and employ-

* Negotiated by Sir John Shore.

ing in the collection of those revenues, in extorting from the husbandman the very means of existence, those troops, those British regiments, which, with his *wonted insincerity*, he had introduced under the specious guise of a desire to defend the country against the external enemies, and to relieve the people from internal oppression. That having by means of these, his *extortions* and other acts of *oppression* and *tyranny*, excited the resistance of certain among the Zemindars* and Rajahs before described, the said Marquess Wellesley did, by means of and in concert with his brother aforesaid, *cause the mansions and retreats of the said Rajahs to be surrounded, attacked, and plundered*, and the said Rajahs, their faithful adherents, their relations, vassals and servants to be *barbarously slain;* thus finishing in *violence* and *murder*, that which in *fraud* and *perfidy* he had begun; and that in order to *stifle the groans of complaint*, to extinguish all hope of redress, and his fraudulently acquired and tyrannical power the more securely to preserve and to exercise, he the said Marquess Wellesley, as well by himself as by his brother aforesaid, did declare, and unto the Princes and people of India did, through the means of such declaration, proclaim, that no change of administration in Britain could stay the course of his proceeding as aforesaid; *falsely* and *audaciously* thereunto adding, that the said course, a course of *fraudulent pretences*, of *pecuniary extortion*, of *political encroachment*, and of *territorial invasion* and *usurpation*, 'had already received the approbation of his Sovereign, of Par-

* Collectors of Revenue.

liament, and of the Company.' That in all and singular the above-recited acts and proceedings, the said Richard Colley, Marquess Wellesley, has been wholely unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the said East India Company, to his Sovereign, and to his country, by him entered into; *has daringly contemned the Parliament, the King, and the laws, and dishonoured the British nation and name*, and has therein being guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanours."*

While these charges were pending, the Prince

* In Auber's "Rise and Progress of British Power in India," there is a letter from Mr. Paull, dated 9th of February, 1803, then at Lucknow, to Sir John Malcolm, Secretary to the Governor-General. Mr. Paull was engaged in commercial business in Oude, which rendered his presence necessary in that kingdom. The Vizier had some dislike to his presence, and he forbade him to enter the country. By the intervention of the British resident, however, Paull was permitted to proceed to Lucknow. Referring to the friendly offices of Major Malcolm, he observes, "As the most pernicious consequences must have attended a compliance with the very unjust request of his Highness, (the Nabob,) I feel a proportional degree of obligation to you, and a sense of gratitude that nothing can diminish." He had transmitted a paper containing some commercial grievances to the Governor-General, to which alluding, he adds, "I sincerely hope and trust that I have not offended his Excellency in the mode I adopted of transmitting my address to his Lordship. Colonel Scott, to whom I submitted it, thought it out of his department; and my friend Sydenham acquainted me that direct communication with Lord Wellesley was best. If, therefore, I have offended, it was unintentional; *for sensibly do I feel the obligations I am under to his Excellency, for whom I have only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect.* This was on the 9th of February, 1803, long after the occurrence of the transactions in Oude, which, on the 25th of June, 1805, (Paull having in the interim returned to England, and obtained a seat in Parliament,) this person advanced as the ground of an impeachment against the Marquess Wellesley!

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. vii. (1806) p. 391.

Regent solicited the Marquess Wellesley to join the Cabinet—so lightly did his Royal Highness esteem the malevolence of his Lordship's pertinacious accuser. But Lord Wellesley declined the offer of the Regent, till the House of Commons had pronounced a decisive opinion on the matter; which it is almost unnecessary to add was an entire and honourable acquittal, conveyed to his Lordship in a vote of thanks, for his general conduct in the performance of his arduous and responsible duties as Governor-General of India.

The following letters from the unpublished MSS. will show pretty decisively what really were the feelings of the Nabob Vizier of Oude towards the Marquess Wellesley, in the years 1802 and 1803, after the date of cruelties, oppressions, and so forth, alleged by Paull to have been inflicted upon that sovereign by his Excellency:—

GORE OUSELEY, ESQ., TO CAPT. MERRICK SHAWE.

"Lucknow, 17th July, 1802.

"My dear Shawe,

"By this day's dawk I have the honour to send Lord Wellesley's picture, which I think is the most inimitable likeness and highest finished picture Mr. Place ever painted.

"The Nawab, understanding from Mr. Place, whom he found at work on Lord Wellesley's picture, that it was intended for Lady Wellesley, requested me to entreat as a particular favour from you that you would endeavour to find out from Lord Wellesley what sized picture her Ladyship would like to wear (as he thinks

the accompanying one too large), that he might get another copy, and after having it neatly set in diamonds, have it presented to her Ladyship; and if you have any compassion on me you will endeavour to ascertain his Lordship's pleasure immediately, and give me a line, if possibly, by return of dawk, as the Nawab is so impatient to have it done, that he'll bore me night and day till your answer arrives. Yours, ever sincerely, GORE OUSELEY."

FROM GORE OUSELEY, ESQ., TO CAPT. MERRICK SHAWE.

"Lucknow, 28th July, 1803.

"DEAR SHAWE,

"I have delighted Nawab by explaining to him the contents of the 13th inst., and he seems quite happy at the idea of the shawls being dispatched to Lady Wellesley.

"I have the pleasure to send, by this day's dawk, a large parcel of seeds for his Excellency Lord Wellesley's Hindostan garden; and his Highness the Nawab has filled two boats with plants and young trees, which will set off to-day or to-morrow, so that by the month of November the place will have assumed the appearance of a garden complete.

"Lord Valentia is off in the middle of the rain. Report says, we are soon to have the pleasure of seeing you in this part of the world. Yours, sincerely,

"GORE OUSELEY."*

* Afterwards Sir Gore Ouseley.

CHAPTER VII.

Honours ascribed to the Founders of Universities and Colleges.—The British Seminaries.—The Foundation of Fort William College, one of the most memorable Events in the Marquess Wellesley's Administration.—Design in founding the College.—No Course of Training or Study at that time for the Civil and Military Servants of the Company.—The Necessity of Education for these Public Servants demonstrated in Notes by Lord Wellesley.—Officers and Professors of the College.—Regulations.—Note of Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Pitt respecting the College.—Orders of the Court of Directors for the Abolition of the Institution.—Lord Wellesley's deep Disappointment.—Motives of the Directors.—Importance of previous Training for Cadets destined for the Company's Service.—Letter of Captain Robertson of the Engineers, to the Rev. Claudius Buchanan.—Reflections on the Site for a College.—Letter of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, announcing that the College would be kept up to the end of 1803.—Appeal and Expostulation of Marquess Wellesley to the Directors.—Private Letter to David Scott, Esq.—Letter respecting the College, &c., to Lord Dartmouth.—Adverse Opinion of Lord Teignmouth.—His Eulogium on the Marquess Wellesley's Government.—Opinion of Dr. Carey, the distinguished Missionary, on Fort William College.—Panegyric in the Bengalee Language on Marquess Wellesley—Character of Carey.—Lord Wellesley expresses his indignant Feelings at the Conduct of the Directors respecting the College, in a Note to Lord Castlereagh.—Haileybury College.—Regulations, &c.—Benefits arising from it.—Impetus to Education in India.

The founders of universities and great seats of learning are deservedly ranked among the benefactors of mankind. He that establishes a college is accorded, by the wise and virtuous, more honour than the man who overthrows an army, or subjugates a kingdom. We are accustomed to look with feelings of reverence and

gratitude to "those who planted and those who watered" those strong and luxuriant trees which fling abroad their venerable branches upon the banks of the Isis, the Cam, and the Liffey, or form the academic bowers of the four ancient and famous Scottish schools. Future generations, when the fury of party spirit shall have spent its force, and when the petty animosities of the hour shall slumber in the tomb which alike encloses the bigot and philosopher, will inquire with kindling enthusiasm, who laid the foundation stone of the University of London?—who, after a lapse of centuries of discord, suffering, and misgovernment, restored to Munster, Connaught, and Ulster seminaries destined—is it too much to hope?—to emulate the renown of the seats of piety and learning which at the dawn of European civilization, tradition tells us, flourished in the peaceful shades of the *insula sanctorum?*

There is no portion of the administration of the Marquess Wellesley in India, brilliant, though many of his achievements were, to which we can look with so much unmixed satisfaction, as his foundation of the college of Fort William, which he erected as a "light amid the darkness of Asia." Within the stately walls of the university of Calcutta, his Lordship fondly hoped to train up a host of public-spirited men, capable of becoming efficient servants of the honourable Company which sways the sovereign power in India, and zealous upholders of British power in the East; while within its secluded courts he opened a fountain at which he invited the native student,—the Mohammedan and Hindoo,—the Persian, Indian and Arabian,—to drink and be wise:—

> " More durable than brass the frame
> Which here I consecrate to fame ;
> Higher than pyramids that rise
> With royal pride to brave the skies ! "

The College of Fort William, the object of so much of the Marquess Wellesley's solicitude—has ceased to exist upon the basis on which it was originally constructed ; but the spirit which he breathed into the institution transmigrated into the East India College in Hertfordshire, and the military school at Addiscombe, and the principles which the founder promulgated are now exerting a powerful influence throughout the vast Anglo-Indian empire.

At the time that Lord Wellesley undertook the administration of the Indian government there was no course of training or study for the civil and military servants of the East India Company. Cadets proceeded at an early age from England to India, and they were forthwith placed in command of troops, of whose language, customs, religions, and feelings they knew nothing ; being at the same time in ignorance of even the rudiments of military science. As to the civil servants of the Company, many were of opinion that anything like learning would be thrown away upon those whose principal duties were supposed to be " the weighing of tea, the counting of bales, and the measuring of muslins ! " Indeed, at that period there was not such an institution as a military academy in England ;* in consequence of which circumstance, the Honourable Arthur Wellesley was sent to acquire a theoretical knowledge of warfare to the military school at Angers, in France.

* *Quarterly Review*, 1816.

In an able and elaborate paper, which he called "Notes by the Governor-General in Council," the Marquess Wellesley unanswerably demonstrated the necessity of a strict systematic course of training and study for the formation of an efficient class of public servants.

"The civil servants of the English East India Company," he remarked, "can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are in fact the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now be viewed in that capacity, with reference, not to their nominal, but to their real occupations. They are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances, which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic difference than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, by a foreign language, by the peculiar usages and laws of India, and by the manners of its inhabitants. Their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals should therefore be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration, and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of

persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs, and manners of the people of India, with the Mahommedan and Hindoo codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in council, for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the law of nations, and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic differences of the several codes of law administered within the British empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice, and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of this climate and the peculiar depravity of the people of India will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India. The only discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate, and

the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious indulgence; the spirit of emulation, in honourable and useful pursuits, should be kindled and kept alive by the continual prospect of distinction and reward of profit and honour; nor should any precaution be relaxed in India which is deemed necessary in England, to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the state with credit to themselves, and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this Government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and inefficient. Whatever course and system of discipline and study may be deemed requisite in England to secure an abundant and pure source for the efficient supply of the public service, the peculiar nature of our establishments in the East, (so far from admitting any relaxation of those wise and salutary rules and restraints,) demand that they should be enforced with a degree of additional vigilance and care, proportioned to the aggravated difficulties of the civil service, and to the numerous hazards surrounding the entrance of public life in India.

"The age," continued Lord Wellesley, "at which the writers usually arrive in India is from sixteen to eighteen; their parents or friends in England, from a variety of considerations, are naturally desirous, not only to accelerate the appointment at home, but to dispatch the young man to India at the earliest possible period. Some of these young men have been educated with an express view to the civil service in

India, on principles utterly erroneous, and inapplicable to its actual condition. Conformable to this error, they have received a limited education, confined principally to commercial knowledge, and in no degree extended to those liberal studies which constitute the basis of education at public schools in England. Even this limited course of study is interrupted at the early period of fifteen or seventeen years.

"It would be superfluous to enter into any argument to demonstrate the absolute insufficiency of this class of young men to execute the duties of any station whatever in the civil service of the Company, beyond the menial, laborious, unwholesome and unprofitable duty of a mere copying-clerk. Those who have received the benefits of a better education, have the misfortune to find the course of their studies prematurely interrupted at the critical period when its utility is first felt, and before they have been enabled to secure the fruits of early application. Both descriptions of young men, —those whose education has been originally erroneous and defective, and those, the early promise of whose studies has been unseasonably broken,—once arrived in India, are equally precluded from the means, either of commencing a new and judicious course of study adapted to their new situation, or of prosecuting that course which had been prematurely interrupted. Not only no encouragement is offered by the present constitution and practice of the civil service to any such pursuits, but difficulties and obstacles are presented by both, which render it nearly impossible for any young man, whatever may be his disposition, to pursue any systematic plan of study, either with a view to remedy

the defects, or to improve the advantages of his former education. On the arrival of the writers in India, they are either stationed in the interior of the country, or employed in some office at the presidency.

"The early education of the civil servants of the East India Company is the source from which will ultimately be derived the happiness or misery of our native subjects; and the stability of our government will bear a due proportion to its wisdom, liberality, and justice.

"The defects of the present condition of the civil service may be comprised under the following heads:—

"First, an erroneous system of education in Europe confined to commercial and mercantile studies.

"Secondly, the premature interruption of a course of study judiciously commenced in Europe.

"Thirdly, the exposed and destitute condition of young men on their first arrival in India, and the want of a systematic guidance and established authority to regulate and control their moral and religious conduct in the early stages of the service.

"Fourthly, the want of a similar system and authority to prescribe and enforce a regular course of study, under which the young men upon their arrival in India might be enabled to correct the errors, or to pursue and confirm the advantages of their European education, and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and customs of India, together with such other branches of knowledge as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations.

"Fifthly, the want of such regulations as shall establish a necessary and inviolable connection between promotion in the civil service and the possession of those

qualifications requisite for the due discharge of the several civil stations.

"It is obvious that an education, exclusively European or Indian, would not afford an adequate remedy for such of these defects as relate to the morals and studies of the East India Company's servants, and would not qualify them for the discharge of duties of so mixed and complicated a nature, involving the combined principles of Asiatic and European policy and government. Their education must therefore be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstructure systematically completed in India."

Impelled by these and other equally cogent considerations, the Marquess Wellesley in council issued orders for the foundation of the college of Fort William, on the 10th of July, 1800. His Lordship had instituted a careful and laborious investigation into all the circumstances of the three presidencies likely to be affected by such an institution, previously to the foundation of the college ; and had bestowed the utmost care on the regulations, statutes, and every necessary detail connected with it. The Governor-General in council appointed the following officers and professors of the college :—

The Council of the College : The Rev. David Brown, Provost ; the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, Vice-Provost ; the Honourable Henry Wellesley, George Hilaro, Barlow, Esq., Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, Esq.

Professors : George Hilaro Barlow, Esq., (Professor of the Laws and Regulations of the British Government in India,) Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, Esq., (Professor of the Persian Language,) Lieutenant John Baillie,

(Professor of the Arabic Language,) John Gilchrist, Esq., (Professor of the Hindostanee Language,) the Rev. Claudius Buchanan (Professor of Greeek, Latin, and English Classics).

Teachers, &c. The Rev. William Carey, (Teacher of the Bengalee and Sanscrit Languages,) James Dinwiddie, LL.D., (Teacher of Mathematics,) Mr. Du Plessy, (Teacher of Modern Languages,) Mr. Lumsden, (Assistant in the Persian department,) Mr. Rothman, (Secretary to the Council of the College).

REGULATIONS, &c.

"Fort William, July 10th, 1800.

"Whereas it has pleased the Divine Providence to favour the counsels and arms of Great Britain in India with a continued course of prosperity and glory; and, whereas, by the victorious issue of several successive wars, and by the happy result of a just, wise, and moderate system of policy, extensive territories in Hindostan, and in the Deccan, have been subjected to the dominion of Great Britain, and under the Government of the Honourable the English East India Company, in process of time a great and powerful empire has been founded, comprehending many populous and opulent provinces, differing in language, manners, and habits, and respectively accustomed to be governed according to peculiar usages, doctrines, and laws; and whereas, the sacred duty, true interest, honour, and policy of the British nation require that effectual provision should be made at all times for the good government of the British empire in India, and for the prosperity and happiness of the people inhabiting the same; and

many wise and salutary regulations have accordingly been enacted from time to time by the Governor-General in council with the benevolent intent and purpose of administering to the said people their own laws, usages, and customs in the mild and benignant spirit of the British constitution : and whereas, it is indispensably necessary, with a view to secure the due execution and administration of the said wise, salutary, and benevolent regulations in all time to come, as well as of such regulations and laws as may hereafter be enacted by the Honourable the English East India Company that the persons exercising high and important functions in the government of India should be properly qualified to discharge the arduous duties of their respective offices and stations ; should be sufficiently instructed in the general principles of literature and science ; and should possess a competent knowledge as well of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain as of the several native languages of Hindostan and the Deccan, and of the laws, usages, and customs of the provinces which the said civil servants respectively may be appointed to govern ; and whereas, the early interruption in Europe of the education and studies of the persons destined for the civil service of the Honourable East India Company, precludes them from acquiring, previously to their arrival in India, a sufficient foundation in the general principles of literature and science, or a competent knowledge of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain ; and many qualifications essential to the proper discharge of the arduous and important duties of the civil service in India, cannot be otherwise fully attained than by a regular course of

education and study in India, conducted under the superintendence, direction, and control of the supreme authority of the government of these possessions: and whereas, no public institution now exists in India under which the junior servants appointed at an earlier period of life to the civil service of the Honourable the English East India Company, can attain the necessary means of qualifying themselves for the high and arduous trusts to which they are respectively destined; and no system of discipline or education has been established in India for the purpose of directing and regulating the studies of the said junior servants, or of guiding their conduct upon their first arrival in India, or of forming, improving, or preserving their morals, or of encouraging them to maintain the honour of the British name in India by a regular and orderly course of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion; the most noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Knight of the illustrious Order of St. Patrick, &c., &c., Governor-General in council, deeming the establishment of such an institution and system of discipline, education, and study, to be requisite for the good government and stability of the British empire in India, and for the maintenance of the interests and honour of the Honourable English East India Company, his Lordship in council hath therefore enacted as follows:—

"II.—A College is hereby founded at Fort William in Bengal for the better instruction of the junior civil servants of the Company in such branches of literature, science, and knowledge, as may be deemed necessary to qualify them for the discharge of the duties of the different offices constituted for the administration of

the government of the British possessions in the East Indies.

"III.—A suitable building shall be erected for the College, containing apartments for the superior officers, for the students, for a library, and for such other purposes as may be found necessary.

"IV.—The Governor-General shall be the Patron and Visitor of the College.

"V.—The members of the Supreme Council, and the judges of the sudder dewanny adawlut, and of the nizamut adawlut shall be the governors of the College.

"VI.—The Governor-General in council shall be trustee for the management of the funds of the College, and shall regularly submit his proceedings in that capacity to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

"VII.—The Comptrolling Committee of Treasury shall be Treasurers of the College.

"VIII.—The Accountant-General, and the Civil Auditor shall be respectively accountant and auditor of accounts of the College.

"IX.—The Advocate-General and the Honourable Company's standing Counsel, shall be the Law Officers of the College.

"X.—The immediate government of the College shall be vested in a Provost and Vice-Provost, and such other officers as the Patron and Visitor shall think proper to appoint, with such salaries as he shall deem expedient. The Provost, Vice-Provost, and all other officers of the College, shall be removable at the discretion of the Patron and Visitor.

"XI.—The Provost shall always be a clergyman of the Church of England, as established by law.

"XII.—Every proceeding and act of the Patron and Visitor shall be submitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and shall be subjected to their pleasure.

"XIII.—The primary duties of the Provost shall be to receive the junior civil servants on their first arrival at Fort William, to superintend and regulate their general morals and conduct, to assist them with his advice and admonition, and to instruct and confirm them in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine, discipline, and rites of the Church of England, as established by law.

"XIV.—The Patron and Visitor shall establish such professorships, with such endowments as shall be judged proper.

"XV.—Professorships shall be established as soon as may be practicable, and regular courses of lectures commenced, in the following branches of literature, science, and knowledge:—

"*Languages.*—Arabic, Persian, Shanscrit, Hindoostanee, Bengal, Telinga, Mahratta, Tamul, Canara; Mahomedan law, Hindoo law, ethics, civil jurisprudence, and the law of nations; English law, the regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in council, or by the governors in council at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively, for the civil government of the British territories in India; political economy, and particularly the commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company; geography and mathematics; modern languages of Europe; Greek, Latin, and English classics; general history, ancient and modern; the history and antiquities of Hindoostan

and the Deccan: natural history, botany, chemistry, and astronomy.

"XVI.—The Patron and Visitor may authorise the same professor to read lectures in more than one of the enumerated branches of study, and may at any time unite or separate any of the said professorships, or may found additional professorships in such other branches of study as may appear necessary.

"XVII.—The Provost and Vice-Provost after having remained in the government of the college for the complete period of seven years; and any professor, after having read lectures in the college for the complete period of seven years, or of twenty-eight terms, and after having respectively received, under the hand and seal of the Patron and Visitor, a testimonial of good conduct during that period of time, shall be entitled to an annual pension for life, to be paid either in Europe or in India, according to the option of the party. The pension shall be in no case less than one-third of the annual salary received by such Provost or Vice-Provost respectively during his continuance in the government of the college, or by any such professor, during the period of his regular lectures. The pension may, in any case, be increased at the discretion of the Patron and Visitor.

"XVIII.—All the civil servants of the Company who may be hereafter appointed on the establishment of the presidency of Bengal, shall be attached to the college for the first three years after their arrival in Bengal, and during that period of time the prescribed studies in the college shall constitute their sole public duty.

"XIX.—All the civil servants now on the establish-

ment of the presidency of Bengal, whose residence in Bengal shall not have exceeded the term of three years, shall be immediately attached to the college for the term of three years from the date of this regulation.

"XX.—Any of the junior civil servants of the Company in India, whether belonging to the establishment of this presidency, or to that of Fort St. George or of Bombay, may be admitted to the benefits of the institution by order of the Governor-General in council for such terms, and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable.

"XXI.—Any of the junior military servants of the Company in India, whether belonging to the establishment of this presidency or that of Fort St. George, or of Bombay, may be admitted to the benefits of the institution, by order of the Governor-General in council, for such terms, and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable.

"XXII.—In the college at Fort William, four terms shall be observed in each year; the duration of each term shall be two months. Four vacations shall also be established in each year; the duration of each vacation shall be one month.

"XXIII.—Two public examinations shall be holden annually, and prizes and honorary rewards shall be publicly distributed by the Provost, in the presence of the Patron and Governors, to such students as shall appear to merit them.

"XXIV.—Degrees shall be established, and shall be rendered requisite qualifications for certain offices in the civil government of Bengal, Fort St. George, and

Bombay; and promotion in the civil service shall be the necessary result of merit, publicly approved according to the discipline and institutions of the college.

"XXV.—Statutes shall be framed by the Provost of the college respecting the internal regulation, discipline, and government of the college; but no statute shall be enforced until it shall have been sanctioned by the Patron and Visitor. The statutes so sanctioned shall be printed according to a form to be prescribed by the Patron and Visitor.

"XXVI.—The Patron and Visitor shall be empowered, at all times, at his sole and exclusive authority, to amend or abrogate any existing statute, or to enact any new statute for the regulation, discipline, and government of the college.

"XXVII.—A regular statement of all salaries, appointments, or removals of the officers of the college, shall be submitted by the Patron and Visitor of the college at the expiration of each term, to the Governor-General in council, and by the Governor-General in council to the Honourable the Court of Directors; printed copies of all statutes enacted by the Patron and Visitor, shall be also submitted to the Governor-General in council, and to the Honourable the Court of Directors, at the same periods of time and in the same manner."

Lord Wellesley distributed his Notes, Regulations, and Statutes far and wide; and both the heads of the college and his Lordship were sanguine that the institution would receive the support of both the Crown and the Honourable Company. It appears from the following extract of a letter from Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Pitt,

that the chief officers of the college fully expected the patronage and approbation of the King. "You got, I hope, the book of exercises of the students in Lord Wellesley's college in Calcutta, which the college desired might be presented to his Majesty. They did me the honour (owing, I believe, to my knowing well one of the chief officers of the college,) to ask me to present it; adding, that if I declined, they wished me to give it to Mr. Addington, then Prime Minister, to be presented to his Majesty by him. From what I know of them, I am sure that *your* presenting it will be more conformable to their wishes. Only don't forget it, and let me be authorised by you to report that it was graciously received."

Both the college and its founder were, however, doomed to meet with the most severe disappointment. The Court of Directors, while professing to applaud the design and unequivocally sanction the principles on which Lord Wellesley had acted, for some reason never sufficiently explained, ordered the college to be abolished. The greatness of the *expense*, was the excuse put forward; but the truth appears to be, that the men of mere facts, figures, and money-bags, were not reasoned out of their predilection for the old routine of mere mercantile utility; they had not sufficiently entered into Lord Wellesley's enlightened and comprehensive views for uplifting the character of the natives of India; and we fear we must add, that they were actuated by some small personal piques, because the Governor-General had attempted to execute, on a scale of such magnitude, so grand a design, without previous authority from Leadenhall-street.

The absolute necessity of some preliminary training in the cadets destined for the Company's military service, is very forcibly pointed out in the following letter from Captain Robertson of the engineers, to the Rev. Claudius Buchanan :—

"I have endeavoured, agreeably to your suggestions, to turn over in my mind and arrange such thoughts as have occurred to me on the subject of the newly proposed college or academy for young men destined for the military service. In endeavouring to arrange my thoughts on this important subject, I have considered what are the inducements, and what may be the views, of the Government in founding such an establishment. It appears to me, that Government are aware that the majority of the young men who come out to the service are youths just from school; and, however well educated they may have been, or whatever progress they may have made as schoolboys, yet it is impossible that, immediately upon their landing, they can be qualified to take upon them and discharge the important duties of commissioned officers among troops whose language and manners they are utter strangers to.

"I humbly conceive that the primary object of Government in founding the establishment, is to give to those young officers an opportunity of acquiring an adequate knowledge of the Hindostanee and Persian languages; as also of becoming acquainted with the characters, dispositions, customs, religious distinctions, &c. of the troops whom they are destined to command. That this is absolutely necessary, must be obvious to every reflecting mind, and most particularly so upon

the present system of service, when young men, immediately upon their arrival in this country, are appointed to and promoted in native regiments.

"It appears to me that Government are satisfied of the necessity of detaining the young men for the above-mentioned important purposes, and are at the same time willing, and even anxious to form such an establishment, and adopt such a system as may give them the opportunity of still further improvement; so as to qualify them, upon joining their respective corps, to appear with credit to themselves, and so as to enable them to discharge with advantage to the service whatever duties they may be employed upon.

"It is with real diffidence that I venture to offer my opinions; yet at the same time, as I have had long experience in the subaltern line of the service, and have not passed my time without observation, I have frequently remarked the disadvantages of young men being attached to native corps without any knowledge of the language or of military duties; and I am therefore induced to proceed and venture such ideas as occur to me.

"It appears to me, that so many young men collected together, must be under the control and superintendence of at least one officer, of the rank of major or captain, who is to be assisted with an able adjutant.

"The duties of the assistant are the most important; he is to teach them the manual exercise, and to habituate them to military duties, and to give them their first lessons in tactics.

"The duties of the superintending officer would be very important, difficult, and laborious. He has not

only the common difficulties of variety of character, genius, and disposition to watch over; but he is to instruct and direct the studies of a number of young men who have made a very unequal progress in their education. Many will be found tolerable classical scholars, well founded in arithmetic, and who have made some progress in mathematics. Others will be found who have very little knowledge of the learned languages, and who only know the simplest rules in arithmetic, and have not had one lesson in mathematics. It is obvious that it is impossible to do them all equal justice without dividing them into classes, and forming such an establishment of professors as cannot be the intention of Government. Still, however, such a system may be adopted as will give every one an opportunity of reaping considerable advantages.

"I suppose the principal part of their time will be devoted to Oriental literature, and that such arrangements have been already made as render superfluous my attempting to say anything on the subject.

"The next object most worthy of their attention is a competent knowledge of the mathematics. Mathematics are the foundation of so much future knowledge; beside which they strengthen the young mind, and dispose it to a certain accuracy of thinking and reasoning on all subjects that come under its contemplation.

"I would therefore recommend that they be all formed into one mathematical class, and that they meet in class five days in the week, for at least one hour in the day; where they are to be examined on the lessons that may have been given out or read to

them the preceding day. It is not intended to make them deep mathematicians, but to instruct them in what is absolutely necessary to the military man. They should be well founded in the first principles or elements,—that is, in the properties of the triangle, the square, and the circle ; after which they should learn that most useful and valuable branch, plane trigonometry, and then immediately have instruments put into their hands and be shewn the use of them. After this it may perhaps be possible to give them a few lessons in actual mensuration,—so far, at least, as to fix in their memories the instructions they have had in plane trigonometry, by measuring heights and distances, and at the same time pointing out to them the great utility of logarithms."

In an anonymous note on the college of Fort William, among the Wellesley MSS., we find the following pertinent observations :—

" The whole world will contemplate this institution when a general peace permits them ; and whatever be its present circumstances, important benefits to the British interests and character may be acquired by amplifying its objects, by dwelling on its prospects, and by extending its fame. The peculiar necessity of the institution as to our own country, its peculiar situation in this country, its useful light in the darkness of Asia, and its novel appearance to the learned world in Europe, will soon—very soon confirm the wisdom of the institution, and give it a stability which no power can shake that does not shake the British Empire.

"As to the *site* of the college, it is perhaps not of material consequence.

"The universities of Oxford and Cambridge are said to have been planted in the interior of the kingdom, that their peaceful shades might not be disturbed by the alarms of war. They are now both in the heart of towns. So are all the colleges on the Continent and in America.

"The vicinity of a town has many advantages.

"Those learned men who have given the theory of a college their consideration, have uniformly recommended it to be built at some distance from a town. But they have also observed that a flourishing and well-endowed college must necessarily create a town; and in India a college will create a bazaar.

"If the college of Fort William be supported on the principles on which it has been founded, it will flourish anywhere."

The order of the Directors produced consternation in the college. The following is a copy of a letter addressed by the Vice-Provost to the senior student of the institution after its receipt, announcing Lord Wellesley's intention to delay the execution of the fatal order:—

"My dear Sir,

"As some unforeseen rumour prevails in the college respecting a letter from the Court of Directors to Lord Wellesley on the subject of the college, I will thank you to mention that the letter of the Court of Directors contains the most unqualified approbation of the plan and of the purposes of the institution. Their

only objection has been to the *expense;* they observe, ' that they have great pleasure in expressing their high approbation of the public spirit and conspicuous talents of Marquess Wellesley in the conception and arrangement of a plan which, under other circumstances of the Company's finance, they should have thought deserving the most serious consideration.' They therefore propose that the college should be modelled on a reduced plan, confining it to two or three languages, and cutting off the additional allowance of the students.

" His Excellency being sensible that such reduction would not answer the purposes of the present institution, and that the objection as to expense arises from supposing that the college is on a scale of magnitude which does not exist, has resolved to represent those circumstances to the Court of Directors, in the confidence that they will sanction the existing institution.

" In the mean time, to prevent the necessity of students coming from the other presidencies before the college be finally established, his Excellency has, by an Act of Council, declared the abolition of the college on the 31st of December, 1803.

" Till that period the existing institution shall remain as it now is, subject to the regulations and statutes concerning it ; as it is his Lordship's determination that it shall be supported by every degree of energy his government can afford to it ; that merit, as hitherto, shall be conspicuously rewarded, and that discipline shall be strictly preserved, agreeably to the statutes of the institution.

" The Bombay and Madras students of 1799 and

1800, leave college agreeably to the regulation at the end of 1802, and those of 1801 at the end of 1803.

"Yours, &c. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN."

"June 14, 1802."

In a dispatch dated, Fort William, 5th of August, 1802, extending to one hundred and forty-one paragraphs, the Marquess Wellesley respectfully expostulates with the Court of Directors on the orders which they had issued, and earnestly pleads the cause of the noble institution he had founded.

Having explained every part of the machinery of the college, stated the exact amount of expense, and described the beneficial effects which had already been experienced from the institution, the noble Lord continued :—"The Honourable Court after the receipt of this dispatch will be enabled to proceed to a final decision of this important question with information amply sufficient to illustrate all its essential parts ; and if the immediate results of the Court's renewed deliberation should be to command this government to accelerate the abolition of the college, and to demolish that institution at any period of time earlier than the 31st of December, 1803, you may be assured that in the arduous situation which I now hold I would manifest a prompt and dutiful obedience to an order which would be founded on a full knowledge of the state of local circumstances in India, and of all the motives which now direct my opinion and conduct.

"In such an event I should certainly discharge my duty with promptitude and dispatch ; but I must have renounced the fixed convictions of my judgment, and I

must have extinguished the warmest sentiments of my heart before I could discharge such a duty without suffering the most severe pain and regret in reflecting on the public benefits which must flow from the establishment of this institution, and the public calamities which must attend its abolition.

"The objects proposed by the institution are the most interesting, comprehensive, and important which could be embraced by any public establishment, and their accomplishment is absolutely requisite for the good government and stability of the empire, and for the maintenance of the interests and honour of the Company, and of the nation in India.

"Many of these objects have already been accomplished by the effects of the institution under the eyes of this Government, and all of them promise to be secured by the countenance and stability of the same system of discipline and study.

"With such experience, and such prospects, I cannot abandon the auspicious hope that the representations submitted to you in this letter may prove the means of inducing the Honourable Court to restore to their civil service in India the inestimable advantages which must be destroyed by the destruction of the college of Fort William, and to suffer the establishment of the college of Fort William to remain unaltered until I shall have the honour of reporting in person to the Court the condition and effects of the institution, and of submitting to you such details as may enable the Court to exercise its final judgment on the whole plan.

"The expense of the institution is greatly overbalanced by the importance and magnitude of its beneficial con-

sequences. I should be guilty of disrespect as well as of injustice towards the East India Company, if I could suggest that the Court of Directors, with a full knowledge of the objects and principles of this institution, and with ample proofs of its actual success, could now admit an opinion that the sum of money now requisite to defray the charges might be applied to any other purposes more beneficial to the interests of the Company in India.

"I therefore close this letter with a perfect confidence that the Honourable Court will issue, without delay, a positive command for the continuance of the college of Fort William until further orders; and although my resignation of the office of Governor-General precludes the hope of my being employed as the instrument for restoring this important benefit to these valuable dominions, I shall embark from India with a firm reliance that my successor will execute the salutary orders of the Honourable Court for the restoration of the college of Fort William, with the same zeal for the public service, and of attachment to the public interest and honour which induced me to found this institution."*

By the same dispatch the following private letter was forwarded, which gives strong expression to the writer's feelings :—

* It deserves to be recorded, to the honour of Earl Minto, that his Lordship exerted himself strenuously to restore the College.

LORD WELLESLEY TO DAVID SCOTT, ESQ.

(Private.)

"Fort William, August 12th, 1802.

"My dear Sir,

"The Court of Directors have given me so much trouble in defending myself against their unwarrantable attacks, that I have scarcely time for the current business of the Government, and that I am actually compelled to leave many important affairs in suspense while my time is devoted to my polemical correspondence with the Honourable Court; still less can I attempt to acknowledge the letters of my private correspondents; but I cannot suffer this dispatch to depart without a line to you. I must, however, hope that you will pardon a short note.

"I have received your letters to the first week of March, and I have seen your speeches, and your letters to Lord Dartmouth. Although the conscious sense of the service which I have rendered to the public, and of the injuries which I have suffered, must raise my indignation, and must occasionally excite sentiments of disgust and even anger in my mind, I assure you most cordially that I feel with the strongest degree of gratitude the zealous and honourable part which you have acted towards me; and as I should be ashamed of any sentiment of private gratitude unconnected with public duty, so I am satisfied that you would never give your countenance to my cause if you were not convinced that it is the *cause of Great Britain in India.*

"I was happy to receive the letter from the Secret

Committee respecting the state of Mr. Scott, junior's house. You will learn that I made such use of that communication as appeared to your friends to be best.

"I have desired Lord Dartmouth to communicate to you my letter respecting the College. I cannot describe to you the extent of the mischief which the Court's orders on that subject would have occasioned if carried into effect. The College must stand, or the Empire must fall.

"Lord Dartmouth, also, at my desire, will give you copies of statements of accounts which will prove to you that the finances in India *are* already restored. This was the great object of my pursuit, and I trust it will prove an honourable termination of my government.

"I hope Mrs. Salmond is arrived in good health and quite recovered. Ever, my dear Sir, yours most sincerely, WELLESLEY."

The subjoined private letter to Lord Dartmouth, written about the same time, will be read with much interest :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH, &c.

(Private.)

"Fort William, 5th August, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"My last private letters to your Lordship were dated on the 7th and 8th of June, since which I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's private letters of the 2nd and 3rd of February, the latest date of

any private communication which has reached me from your Lordship.

"The official dispatches will apprise you of the dates of the dispatches received by the Governor-General in council from the Court and the Committee, as well as of the general state of affairs in India. I have only to add my private assurances that we now enjoy the most promising state of prosperity, together with perfect tranquillity, and with every appearance of security and continued repose.

"I am anxious to receive instructions respecting the private trade: if your Lordship's commands should not reach me in the course of another week, I must proceed to act upon my own judgment, which will induce me to continue without variation the licence granted in the last year to the private merchants under similar restrictions, conformably to the principles stated in my letter to the Court of Directors of the 30th of September, 1800.

"I shall hereafter resume the whole subject of the private trade in an official form of discussion, for the purpose of vindicating my conduct and opinions; and I shall then furnish your Lordship with a statement of facts and arguments which will abundantly satisfy you of the incontrovertible justice of those sentiments in which you have done me the honour to concur with me.

"Your Lordship will have anticipated the painful sensations which I must have experienced in receiving the orders of the Court of the 27th of January, for the immediate abolition of the College at Fort William. Having endeavoured to explain the various considera-

tions affecting that interesting question in a letter addressed to the Chairman in this dispatch, I shall not trouble your Lordship with any further details on the subject, merely referring you to a copy of my letter to the Chairman, now transmitted for your use. I must, however, anxiously request your Lordship to interpose effectually (if it should be necessary,) for the restoration of this indispensable institution. I trust you may be able to persuade the Court to concur with you in early measures for this salutary purpose: at all events it is highly desirable that I shall receive orders without delay on a question of such delicacy and importance. Your Lordship will observe that if your orders should be considerably delayed, the institution will expire under my order in council of the 24th of June. *I think it proper to apprise your Lordship (and I leave it to your discretion to use the information as you think fit,) that if the Court should ultimately abolish this institution, it is my fixed and unalterable resolution to propose to Parliament, immediately after my return to England, a law for the restitution of an establishment which* I KNOW *to be absolutely requisite for the good government of these possessions. So convinced am I of the necessity of this institution, that I am determined to devote the remainder of my political life to the object of establishing it, as the greatest benefit which can be imparted to the public service in India, and as the best security which can be provided for the welfare of our native subjects.* The East India Company can afford the expense of the institution; if, however, this proposition be contested, on just grounds, the public ought to

indemnify the Company for the amount of the charge. *Without such a system of discipline and study in the early education of the civil service, it will be utterly impossible to maintain our extensive empire in India.*

"Your Lordship will have received intelligence of the reductions already effected in the military charges at the several presidencies, and you will find their nature and amount more particularly detailed in my letters by this dispatch. Whatever can be accomplished with safety, justice, and propriety towards a further reduction of military charges, will be attempted by me during my continuance in India; and I trust that your Lordship will never suffer any person to hold the station of Governor-General, on whom you cannot rely for a just attention to the economy of every branch of the public charges, especially those of the military department. Peremptory orders from England relative to such details tend to embarrass and degrade the local government.

"Your Lordship will rejoice with me in the prosperous state of the finances of India exhibited by the accompanying statements. The regular official accounts will be forwarded in about a month. I entertain a reasonable hope that the actual result of the year 1802-3 will be more favourable than the estimate. 1803-4 will certainly prove a year of unexampled prosperity; every branch of the revenue promises improvement; the civil charges will not be augmented, and the military charges may possibly be diminished.

"I am at a loss to account for the reasons which have so long delayed in England the confirmation of the

treaty with the Carnatic. Considerable inconvenience and danger have already arisen in consequence of this delay.

"I am concerned to say that the Government of Fort George is at present reduced to an alarming state of inefficiency and disunion, the necessary effect of the late measures adopted by the Court of Directors against Lord Clive's administration. That government has absolutely escaped from my hands; nor can I be responsible for its conduct until the authority of an adequate governor of Fort St. George, and my authority also, shall be restored without reservation, at that distracted settlement. On this subject I have the honour to transmit an extract of a letter which will afford your Lordship a strange but true picture of the state of Fort St. George.

"I expect hourly your Lordship's approbation of the treaty of Oude. The Ceded Provinces continue in a state of perfect tranquillity. My brother Henry expects to be able to conclude a triennial settlement of the land-revenue in a few weeks, and then proposes to quit the government as soon as I can introduce a proper police into the country.

"By a newspaper which has accidentally reached me I perceive with pleasure that the Court of Directors has appointed Mr. Barlow to the provisional succession of the Governor-General. Although in my letter to the Chairman I have not adverted to the possibility of my continuance in India beyond the month of January, 1803, I wish your Lordship to understand that no change has taken place in my sentiments since the date of my letters of the 13th of March, 1802, to your

Lordship, and to Mr. Addington. My intention is to abide by the result of the reference stated in those letters to his Majesty's Ministers. Your Lordship will feel that the injury which my authority has received by the abolition of the College, and by other obvious circumstances in the late dispatches from the Court, must increase my anxiety to receive the fullest and most unequivocal assurances of support from his Majesty's Ministers as the only possible security for the due discharge of any functions in this Government. Any want of this support must at once compel me to deliver over my charge to Mr. Barlow. I have the honour to be with great regard and esteem, my dear Lord, your most faithful and obedient servant,

"WELLESLEY."

"PS. I request your Lordship's attention to a copy of a very able letter from Mr. Webbe, on the subject of the study of the Oriental languages at Fort St. George.

"I request your Lordship to furnish my brother, Mr. Pole, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. D. Scott with copies of my letter to the Chairman on the subject of the college. Mr. Addington, I conclude, will see it officially: but I apprehend that the Court may be disposed to bury it in the abyss of Leadenhall-street. I also am anxious that the same persons should see the statements of account now transmitted. I propose to send a copy of them to Mr. Dundas."

Lord Teignmouth doubted the practicability of the plan. "Its success," observes his Lordship in a letter to Mr. Grant, "must evidently depend not only on the

abilities and attention of the Provost, Vice-Provost, and Professors, but on the invariable attention of the Governor-General as Patron and Visitor, the members of the Supreme Council, and other superintending officers. Notwithstanding the temptation held out to the students of a salary beyond their exigencies, I cannot conceive, if any option were left to them, that the generality of servants would submit to the discipline and confinement of a college; and to subdue this, and other principles of counteraction, will require incessant care and vigilance, and great judgment in framing the rules of discipline. The superintending officers must feel an interest in the success of the institution, or like others, it will sink into an establishment of idleness. *If Marquess Wellesley were himself to remain in India until the objects of the institution were well advanced, my doubts would be removed; but both you and myself know individuals who would think their time and attention ill bestowed upon the college.* I confess my reluctance," says Lord Teignmouth, in the same letter, "to hint any limitations of a plan which does him so much honour; but your judgment will correct my opinion. I cannot conclude without applying the following Virgilian lines to him as a deserved tribute of applause :—

> 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento :
> Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
> Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.'"

The following letter will further tend to show how deeply solicitous Lord Wellesley was for the stability of Fort William College :—

FROM MR. D. SCOTT TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"My dear Lord,

"I have but once been from the room I write this in for the last fortnight, and that was to see Lord Castlereagh on the College, &c. &c. Nothing but the strong wish which I felt to ease your mind could have carried me from my wife's bed-room, and nothing but this could enable me to write a single word now.

"Her life, and its effects, (for either happiness with her, or most extreme misery by the loss of her must result), has for many days agitated me severely, and I dread to say what is the most probable expectation. I had resolved to move for the papers respecting the College, in the House of Commons, unless Lord Castlereagh would immediately act. On Monday he intreated me not to move for the papers, but to give him time, and he would pledge himself for not being too late in effecting all that could be effected, and with which he was confident I would be satisfied. He told me in confidence, what so pressed upon him with the others at present, as made him, from necessity, require more time. I gave way to his wishes. Since then, the papers show what that was. These will show you that a plan almost similar to Mr. Dundas's which was approved by you, who undertook to execute it, has been adopted.

"The present plan is only on a smaller scale and less efficient. Had they sent you two millions sterling, it would have done,—and which I pressed all I could. Lord Castlereagh assured me he had written satisfac-

torily on the College, &c. &c., and would go into the subject as soon as I was fitter for such a subject, and the present matter was settled,—war or no war, which seems very doubtful. Your lady and all the family are well. Be so good as to acquaint Captain Salmond that his wife is in perfect health, and my nephew, Mr. Robert Scott, that his family are also all well. You shall hear from me as soon again as I am able to write. You will receive with this the newspaper giving the late messages from his Majesty to the House on the occasion of his immediate preparation for war, or as the best way to prevent our having one. The plan for paying off the Indian debt also: as to it, who enabled them to pay it off? I am, my dear Lord, your ever much obliged and afflicted friend, D. Scott."

"London, 11th March, 1803."

The interference of the Board of Control rescued the College from destruction during Lord Wellesley's administration; but the controversy between the Governor-General and the Directors was protracted till his Lordship's departure for England, and all his efforts could not finally save the College.

In a subsequent chapter we shall have to consider the influence of the College of Fort William, as a means of promoting the spread of Christian knowledge in Asia, in connexion with the Marquess Wellesley's efforts to suppress the bloody superstitions of the Hindoos. This will, however, be a proper place to record the unequivocal testimony of one of the greatest evangelical missionaries that England has sent forth in modern

times, in favour of the general utility of the institution.*

At one of the public disputations in the year 1804 at which C. Gowan, Esq. a student of the college, pronounced a declamation in the Shanscrit language, Dr. Carey, the Shanscrit teacher and moderator of the disputation, addressed the Marquess Wellesley, the founder and patron of Fort William College, who was present on the occasion, in a speech of which the following is a translation :—

" My Lord,—" It is just that the language which has been first cultivated under your auspices, should primarily be employed in gratefully acknowledging the benefit and in speaking your praise.

" The ancient language, which refused to disclose itself to the former Governors of India, unlocks its treasures at your command, and enriches the world with the history, learning and science of a distant age.

" The rising importance of our collegiate institution has never been more clearly demonstrated than on the present occasion ; and thousands of the learned in distant nations will exult in this triumph of literature.

" What a singular exhibition has been this day presented to us ! In presence of the supreme Gover-

* The Venerable Mr. Carey, for many years the Baptist Missionary in the north of India, following the steps of Schwartz in the south—in Oriental and classical learning his superior, and not inferior in laborious study and Christian zeal. Carey was the author of a Grammar of the Shanscrit Language, 900 4to pages ; of a Grammar of the Bengal Language ; of a Grammar of the Mahratta Language ; of a Translation of the Scriptures into the Bengal Language ; and of various other useful works in Oriental literature.—*Buchanan.*

nor of India, and of its most learned and illustrious characters, Asiatic and European, an assembly is convened in which no word of our native tongue is spoken, but public discourse is maintained on interesting subjects in the languages of Asia. The colloquial Hindostanee, the classic Persian, the commercial Bengalee, the learned Arabic, and the primæval Shanscrit, are spoken fluently, after having been studied grammatically by English youth. Did ever any university in Europe, or any literary institution in this or any other age or country, exhibit a scene so interesting as this! And what are the circumstances of these youth? They are not students who prosecute a dead language with uncertain purpose, impelled only by natural genius or love of fame; but having been appointed to the important offices of administering the government of the country in which these languages are spoken, they apply their acquisitions immediately to useful purposes,—in distributing justice to the inhabitants,—in transacting the business of the state, revenual and commercial,—and in maintaining official intercourse with the people in their own tongue, and not as hitherto by means of an interpreter.

"The literary proceedings of the day amply repay all the solicitude, labour, and expense that have been bestowed on this institution. If the expense had been a thousand times greater, it would not have equally the immensity of the advantages, moral and political, that will ensue.

"I, now an old man," continued the venerable Carey, "have lived for a long series of years among the Hindoos; I have been in the habit of preaching to

multitudes daily, of discoursing with the Bramins on every subject, and superintending schools for the instruction of the Hindoo youth. Their language is nearly as familiar to me as my own. This close intercourse with the natives for so long a period, and in different parts of our empire, has afforded me opportunities of information not inferior to those which have hitherto been presented to any other person. I may say, indeed, that their manners, customs, habits, and sentiments are as obvious to me as if I was myself a native. And knowing them as I do, and hearing as I do their daily observations on our government, character, and principles, I am warranted to say (and I deem it my duty to embrace the public opportunity now offered me of saying it) that the institution of this College was wanting to complete the happiness of the natives under our dominion; for this institution will break down that *barrier* (our ignorance of their language) which has ever opposed the influence of our laws and principles, and has despoiled our administration of its energy and effect.

"Were, however, the institution to cease from this moment, its salutary effects would yet remain. Good has been done which cannot be undone. Sources of useful knowledge, moral instruction, and political utility, have been opened to the natives of India *which can never be closed;* and their civil improvement, like the gradual civilization of our own country, will advance in progression for ages to come."

Alluding to the students in the college, Dr. Carey turning to the Marquess Wellesley, continued, "These illustrious scholars, my Lord, the pride of their country

and the pillars of this empire, will record your name in many a tongue, and secure your fame for ever. Your fame is already recorded in their hearts. The whole body of youth of this service hail you as their father and their friend! Your name will be safe in their hands. *No revolution of opinion or change of circumstances can rob you of the solid glory derived from the humane, just, liberal, and magnanimous principles which have been embodied by your administration.*

"To whatever situation the course of future events may call you, the youth of this service will ever remain the pledges of the wisdom and purity of your government. Your evening of life will be constantly cheered with new testimonies of their reverence and affection, with new proofs of the advantages of the education you have afforded them ;* and with a demonstration of the numerous benefits, moral, religious, and political, resulting from this institution ; benefits which will consolidate the happiness of the millions of Asia and the glory and welfare of our country."

In a letter to Lord Castlereagh, of the 19th of June, 1804, after stating that it was his intention to submit his views on the controversy between him and the Court of Directors respecting the College of Fort William, to Lord Castlereagh in a future letter the Marquess Wellesley gives vent to his wounded feelings in the following observations :—

" In the mean time I trust it is unnecessary for me

* This prediction was completely verified, as we shall have occasion more particularly to remark hereafter ; *vide* speech of W. B. Bailey, Esq. Appendix, vol. iii.

to repeat to your Lordship the assurance either of my unqualified contempt and abhorrence of the proceedings and propensities of the Court of Directors, or of my determination to withhold any public reprehension of the wickedness of that graceless faction until I shall be enabled to claim the justice of my king and country in my place in the House of Lords, before a tribunal with whom is righteous judgement."

It is but justice to the Honourable East India Company to say that after the heat of these discussions had passed away, in a magnanimous spirit, they took up the plan of Lord Wellesley and put it into execution with so much success, that many have doubted and still doubt whether the maintenance of Fort William College as originally designed would have been more useful to the servants of the Company than the College at Haileybury. This question is yet open; but the experience of several years has shown that the education imparted at Haileybury has had a most important influence in elevating the general character of the servants of the East India Company, and has added an immense impetus to the cause of Native education in India.* Colleges and schools under the patronage of the Government are springing up in every part of India; and the day we trust will yet arrive when a University of Calcutta will realise the renown and accomplish the mighty ends which the founder of Fort William College hoped to have seen achieved in his own day.†

* The regulations of Haileybury College, expenses of the establishment, &c., will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

† The following notice, recently published in Government general

Mr. Wilberforce was among those who regretted the parsimonious hostility of the Directors to the comprehensive plans of the Governor-General. In a letter to Archdeacon Wrangham, dated November, 1807, that active philanthropist observes, "I think I see you intimate a predilection, in which I fully share with you, as I have often told my friend, Mr. Grant, for Lord Wellesley's East India College. I own, considering the immense revenues of our East Indian empire, I would have economised anywhere rather than there. *The institution surely will not answer the same ends, if it be continued on a contracted scale. It must be elevated high, it must be rendered brilliant and dazzling to attract the notice of surrounding nations, and attract the various literati. I greatly deplore its having been so shorn of its beams, and wish it restored to its primeval splendour.*"

orders, bears honourable testimony to the spread of intelligence among the natives of India:—

"GHOSAUL SCHOLARSHIP.

"*General Department, N. W. P. Agra, the 21st June*, 1845.—*Education.*—*Notification.*—Rajah Sut Churn Ghosaul having munificently placed at the disposal of the local committee of public education in Benares, the sum of Rs. 5000, in founding a Scholarship in the Government College at that station, the Hon. the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to notify, that the sum will be invested to the best advantage, and the interest appropriated to the maintenance of a scholarship to be hereafter called 'the Ghosaul Scholarship.'"

CHAPTER VIII.

Intelligence of the Resignation of the Pitt Ministry reaches India.—Its Effects.—Letter from Lord Clive to Marquess Wellesley, enclosing Extracts from the *Morning Post*, &c.—Letters of Lady Jane Dundas to Marquess Wellesley.—The New Cabinet —Mr. Addington a warm Supporter of Lord Wellesley's Policy.—Letter of Mr. Macpherson, ex-Governor General of India.— Letter of Mr. Addington to Marquess Wellesley.— Lord Wellesley's Distribution of Patronage. — Guided solely by Merit and Capacity.—Results of his Mode of selecting Public Servants.—Uninfluenced by the Recommendations of Powerful Individuals.—Applications from Persons of Rank and Influence preserved in the Wellesley MSS.— Letters of Mr. Dundas, Mr. George Rose, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Fife, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Lady Amelia Campbell, &c.—Letters from Mr. * * * * to Lord Wellesley, respecting his Son's Marriage in India.

The intelligence of the resignation of the Pitt Ministry which was subsequently followed by the formation of an administration by Mr. Addington, naturally excited a strong feeling of interest, not unmixed with anxiety, in the minds of the various members of the Government of India. The inability of Mr. Pitt to redeem his implied pledge to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, that the union should be followed up by a removal of all disabilities on the professors of that religion, (the inveterate prejudices of George III. unfortunately offering an insuperable obstacle to a wise and just line of policy, which, if adopted when proposed by the genius of Pitt, would have added dignity to his Majesty's crown, and conferred inestimable bene-

fits upon his kingdom,) was ostensibly the cause of the retirement of the Ministry. But it was quite evident that the resignation of Mr. Pitt indicated an approaching negotiation with Buonaparte; and the servants of the Crown and East India Company in the three presidencies and Ceylon, naturally began to inquire how British interests in Asia would be affected by any treaty requiring a restitution of the conquests made during the war. The Marquess Wellesley received the first intelligence of the resignation of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in the following letter from Lord Clive :—

(Private.)

"Fort St. George, 9th June, 1801.

"My dear Lord,

"The *Active*, which left England the 31st of December, and Lisbon the 19th of February, has brought English newspapers, procured at the latter place, up to the 10th of February, but not in any regular series.

"A ministerial paper, however, of the 9th, and an opposition print of the 10th of that month, state a change of ministry with so much confidence, that I consider the intelligence, however unwelcome, too important to be withheld for a moment from your Lordship's consideration. I have accordingly directed everything in the few papers which I have received, that bears any relation to this momentous change, to be copied for transmission to your Lordship by this express. Duplicates of these extracts, or the originals, with any further information which I may be able to procure, shall be transmitted by Captain Malcolm, who embarks for Bengal on the 11th inst. I have the

honour to be, my dear Lord, with the most sincere regard and esteem, your Lordship's most faithful servant,

"CLIVE."

The extracts enclosed were articles from the *Morning Post*, 2nd of February, and *Gazetteer*, from the *Courier*, from the *Porcupine*, and from the *Morning Post*, 10th of February.

The following letter from Lady Jane Dundas, wife of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, (soon after rendered conspicuous as Lord Melville,) was written to the Marquess Wellesley during the ministerial crisis :—

LADY JANE DUNDAS TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Wimbledon, 3rd April, 1801.

"I beg you will do me the favour to accept a drawing which will be sent at the same time with this in the *Henry Dundas*. Nothing but the dread of being forgot by an old friend could have induced me to do so conceited a thing, or to have offered you so trifling a mark of my friendship. It has been thought a pretty drawing here, but you may be of a different opinion ; if, however, you see any *resemblance*, or any part of the good wishes it is meant to express to you, perhaps you may be induced to forgive its faults, and give it a place in your room.

"If your friends in this country have been good and faithful correspondents, you will, before you receive this, have heard some wonderful things, and such as I am sure will not have given you pleasure. It has been so eventful a spring, and so many unlooked-for

occurrences have been crowded into the time, that to look back upon the last two months, I own, makes me quite giddy. Mr. Pitt is perfectly well, and in better spirits than most other people, or than any of his friends. Of Mr. Dundas I may say the same, except that I do not think him in steady good health, tho' he sometimes looks as well as ever he did. You will, of course, hear how handsomely the East India Company have behaved to Mr. Dundas; and, indeed, the manner in which they treated the subject of his resignation, and the pension they voted to him, were very gratifying to him and all of us. I am grieved to say that Mr. Pitt has left us this morning, I am afraid, to go to Holwood for the last time: there are some changes in his situation that I own I am childish enough to hear with no philosophy. Mr. Dundas scolds me for it; and they don't *seem* to affect Mr. Pitt one way or the other.

"The King, thank God, is recovering his strength; though his nerves and constitution have been so shook by his illness that it will be long before he will be as well as he was before.

"We have often the pleasure of seeing the Bishop; he is anxious, as we all are, for accounts of your brother's * safe arrival in India. Make my kindest compliments to him. Mr. Dundas desires to be affectionately remembered both to you and to him. Believe me ever, with sincere regard, your faithful humble servant, J. Dundas."

"P.S. The Duchess of Dorset either is, or is just going to be, married to Lord Whitworth."

* The Hon. Henry Wellesley is here referred to.

Personally, however, the Marquess Wellesley had but little reason to regret the changes in the Cabinet. His Lordship had the satisfaction of learning, both through public and private channels, that his policy in India was as cordially approved of by the new Minister, as by his predecessor.

Mr. Addington* was entrusted with his Majesty's commands to form a Government on the 17th of March, 1801; but the Administration was not completed till July 30th. The following composed the Addington Ministry :—

Mr. Addington, *Premier.*
Duke of Portland, *Lord President.*
Lords Hawkesbury, Pelham, and Hobart, *Secretaries of State.*
Earl of Westmoreland, *Lord Privy Seal.*
Earl St. Vincent, *First Lord of the Admiralty.*
Lord Eldon, *Lord Chancellor.*
Lord Auckland, *Postmaster-General.*
Mr. Charles Yorke, *Secretary at War.*
Sir Edward Law, *Attorney-General.*
Mr. Spencer Perceval, *Solicitor-General.*
Mr. Dudley Ryder, *Treasurer of the Navy.*
Mr. Thomas Steele and Lord Glenbervie, *Paymasters of the Army.*

The following letter from Mr. Macpherson, a confidential friend of Mr. Addington, to the Marquess Wellesley, was written in the month following the formation of the new Ministry :—

* Afterwards Lord Sidmouth.

MR. JOHN MACPHERSON TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Brompton, 18th April, 1801.

"My Lord,

"There is but one ground on which I have any right to introduce a Company's servant to your Lordship—that of enlarging the field on which your own disposition leads you to do good. Mr. Plowden, the brother of the youth to whom I give this note, and all his family, are most grateful to your Lordship's attention to the first deputation of that family to Bengal. But it is well known that it is neither to families, to recommendations, or interest that your Lordship pays attention in your advancement or employment of men who serve in India;—it is the unanimous voice of all our settlements there, *that merit and the capacity to serve are the only recommendations to your Lordship.* This I state as a *fact,* and not as a compliment.

"Your Lordship, in lamenting, perhaps, the retreat of some of your great friends in this country from the highest offices in the Administration, has *great reason* to *confide* in the present Minister. I have long admired and confided in Mr. Addington; and in one of his speeches, as Speaker, before the throne, of which I sent your Lordship the French translation, he paid your successes in India the highest and justest compliment that ever was expressed. For years back I have been in the habit of showing Mr. Addington all my correspondence with the Continent, from the period of my return from thence in 1794; and he has effectually embraced the great system which was the original basis of the Coalition; which the enemy has since availed

themselves of, after we had refused to treat, and on which I sincerely trust that the present Minister, aided by his predecessors, and uniting the confidence of the King and the Prince, and the good men of all parties, will be finally able to adjust with the Continent a solid peace.

"The preparations from India against Egypt will do your Lordship credit in any issue. But in your acquisition of Mysore you have made us independent of any circumstances relative to Egypt. *Seringapatam* and *Prince of Wales's Island* will enable us to obtain a solid security for our power in India, in any difficulty of future negotiation about Ceylon and the Cape.

"The measures which your Lordship has been wisely taking to induce the Company's servants to qualify themselves for the collection of our revenues, and the clear distribution of justice to the natives, give me the greatest pleasure; they are so consonant to the system I had anxiously laboured to introduce in more branches, and which are now very well understood in this country.

"The new possessions which France has acquired in Europe, and in a position so dangerous to this country, and the immense increase of our debts, with our interior distress,—in other words, the real poverty of the inferior classes,—lead us to place our best hopes in the proper regulation of our India revenues, and the consolidation of a system of finance in that country that will keep the rich natives in a continued dependence on the existence and prosperity of our Asiatic government.

"I shall not be surprised if this subject is taken up

upon a *grand scale* by the present Administration, and in a happy conformity to your Lordship's ideas.

"I will not say a word on the subject of the Carnatic further than that, when your Lordship peruses a copy of my letter to the Nabob, which you were pleased to return to me, you will find that its whole object was to use my little influence with the son of my original friend, the best of our Nabobs, to aid in contributing to the credit and prosperity of your Lordship's administration.

"The Prince was to write to your Lordship in favour of Colonel Peter Murray, whose services on a former critical revolutionary occasion are well known to his Royal Highness and the Duke of York: but I suggested the rule which I understood had been laid down by your Lordship relative to appointments and recommendations from even the highest sources.

"In return for the trouble of perusing this note, I take the liberty to enclose to your Lordship a little work which you will peruse with more pleasure. I have the honour to be, with sincere respect and esteem, your Lordship's most humble servant,

"JOHN MACPHERSON."*

In conveying the note of the House of Commons to Lord Wellesley, on the 5th of October, 1799, Mr. Addington, then Speaker, addressed his Lordship in the following terms; which convey the substance of the speaker's remarks alluded to by Mr. Macpherson:—

* Mr. Macpherson, as the senior member of council at Calcutta, assumed the government of India immediately after the departure of Mr. Warren Hastings, and held that office till the appointment of the Marquess Cornwallis.

"Wisdom and vigour in council, and talents and exertions in the field, have eminently characterised the civil and military services in India during the period of your Lordship's administration; and the effects of those measures which have been adopted are to be found in the overthrow of a restless and perfidious power, in the dissolution of a menacing and formidable confederacy, and in the improved security of the British possessions in that quarter of the globe. Allow me, my Lord, so far to indulge my own feelings upon this occasion as to assure your Lordship, and those who, under your auspices, contributed to successes so splendid and important, that, in the discharge of my official duty, I have never experienced a higher gratification than in being the channel of affording this additional proof that great and glorious services will ever be distinguished by the applause, admiration, and gratitude of the Commons of Great Britain."

In the letter of Mr. Macpherson to the Marquess Wellesley, reference has been pointedly made to the rule laid down and acted upon by the noble Lord in all the appointments vested in his hands. It will be found that one of the chief reasons why the administration of Lord Wellesley in India was so preëminently distinguished was, that in the distribution of what is called the "patronage" of office, he was guided solely by the capacity and personal respectability of the candidates. Mr. Macpherson paid the Governor-General no undeserved compliment when he remarked "It is the unanimous voice of all our settlements that *merit* and *capacity* to serve are the only recommendations to your Lordship." No man's family connection, no pow-

erful recommendations, no "influence," personal or political, could secure more than the cold civility of the Governor-General, unless the aspirant had solid claims to the notice of his Excellency. Lord Wellesley felt the responsibility of government, and therefore was scrupulously careful in the selection of the instruments he employed. He laboured anxiously, not only to secure in the military and political service of the government of India the most competent persons, but, as the College of Fort William, which he founded, testified, he earnestly desired to afford the servants of the Company opportunities of increasing their efficiency, and by the force of mere talent and integrity of gaining honourable distinction. The result of this policy was that Lord Wellesley was surrounded by a host of able and sedulous officers, guided by zeal and discretion in the discharge of their multifarious functions ; and every department of the public service was conducted by men who felt a direct responsibility to the head of the government, jealous for the character of his administration. The recommendations of powerful relations, or of influential individuals desirous of conferring a favour on some adherent, by interference in behalf of a son or a family connection, so often are preferred to the claims of men who have no pretensions but those of good service, that Lord Wellesley is entitled to honour for the justice and impartiality which he uniformly exhibited in his appointments. Notwithstanding the rule to which Mr. Macpherson referred, the Marquess Wellesley was by no means exempt from applications from persons of rank and influence on the part of individuals connected

with either themselves or their friends. It is a circumstance that deserves notice, that his Lordship appears to have carefully preserved all such applications. There are some hundreds of letters of this nature among the Wellesley MSS., a few of which will be amusing as well as instructive:—

MR. DUNDAS TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Charles Street, 10th April, 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"I trouble you with this letter at the instance of Mr. Canning, to call your favourable attention to Mr. Charles Græme, Registrar at Rajeshahye. *This gentleman's father is a friend of Sir H. Mildmay, and is a member of the corporation of Winchester, which place Sir H. intends to represent in the next parliament.* I trust your Lordship will take an opportunity of noticing Mr. Græme in your future arrangements so far as shall be consistent with the regard which I know your Lordship ever pays to the claims of meritorious servants. I remain, my dear Lord, yours very truly,

"Henry Dundas."

(Confidential.)

"London, 27th April, 1802.

"My Lord,

"I have had occasion formerly to trouble you on the subject of Mr. Ynir Burges. He is nearly connected with Sir John and Lady Smith Burges. When I was in office, and at the head of the Indian department, I had no occasion to take any particular notice of the attentions of those in any way connected with

that department; but since I retired from office I am naturally led to mark the attentions of those who do not forget former professions. In that number I particularly refer to Sir John and Lady Burges. Mr. Ynir Burges, like all other servants of character, naturally aims at being a member of the Supreme Council, but that is an appointment depending upon interest at home. His more immediate objects are the Boards of Revenue and Trade. From documents which have been laid before me, I have had occasion to learn the very favourable opinion you entertain of him. So far as you can, consistent with the public service, I have full reliance that you will give a favourable attention to the wishes of Mr. Burges, and it will give me pleasure if the anxiety of his friends in his behalf coincide with your means of serving him. I remain, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely, "HENRY DUNDAS."

"Old Palace Yard, March 10, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"On your first going to India I made a very earnest application to you in favour of Mr. Alexander Wright, in the Company's civil service, not venturing to hope for any attention thereto, unless by his character and conduct he should be deserving of your favour. I should not, however, have even mentioned him to you, if I had not had very good accounts of him from persons in the country on whom I could perfectly rely. His situations, from the appointment he holds, may perhaps, have kept him out of your immediate view; but if on inquiry respecting his merits you shall find

him deserving of promotion, I shall feel myself highly gratified, and be under a great obligation to you if you will do the best you can for him before you leave the Government. I have long had it at heart to be useful to Mr. Wright, but have not had the good fortune to succeed, as I thought I might reasonably have hoped to do, *for I have not attempted to interfere on behalf of any one else.*

"We shall see you return, I hope, in perfect health: —in what state you will find us, God only knows! I am, my dear Lord, always very faithfully yours,

"GEORGE ROSE."

"Charles Street, 16th April, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Mr. George Suttie, of the Bengal establishment, *is connected with several branches of my family by blood;* and his father, Sir George Suttie, was long *a steady political friend of mine in Parliament*, and upon these grounds I wish to bring him particularly under your view in case you have it in your power to show him any particular attention. I remain, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely, "HENRY DUNDAS."

"London, 1st March, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"This letter will be delivered to your Lordship by Mr. Skipton, whom I have nominated to a medical appointment at Bengal.

"From his connections in the north of Ireland, and the interest I take in his success upon their account,

I hope your Lordship will permit me to request every attention to his success which it may be within your power to extend to him. I have the honour to remain, my dear Lord, your very faithful, sincere, humble servant, CASTLEREAGH."

"London, 1st March, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"This letter will be presented to you by Mr. Blacke, son to Dr. Blacke, of Derry, whom I have nominated to a cadetship at Bengal.

"The highly respectable character of his father, my long acquaintance with him, and the interest I take in the success of his family, will, I hope, ensure your Lordship's attentions to this young man, whom I now take the liberty of introducing to you. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your most sincere and faithful CASTLEREAGH."

"London, 28th April, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I beg leave to introduce to your Lordship's favour Mr. Packenham, a son of Admiral Packenham, whom I have nominated to a writership at Bengal.

"*From his close relationship to Lady Castlereagh, and with Mr. Conolly, and the high regard I entertain for his father,* I am induced to recommend Mr. Packenham to your Lordship's particular notice, and I shall be personally obliged by your extending to him that patronage of which I am certain he has zeal and ability to render himself deserving. I am, my dear Lord, your most sincere, and faithful humble servant,

"CASTLEREAGH."

"August 4th, 1801.

"My dear Lord,

"I have taken the liberty to transmit to you the case of Mr. John Thornhill, whom I have been desired to recommend to your notice. Permit me, likewise, to mention the name of Mr. Golding, a young man I believe of considerable promise, and son of my worthy colleague at this Board, Mr. Edward Golding. I am at this moment fighting the battle of India shipping, which I trust will plead my excuse for not adding more at present than that I remain, with high regard, my dear Lord, yours faithfully, Dartmouth."

"Fife House, 6th March, 1804.

"My dear Lord,

"I take the liberty to recommend Mr. James Gordon, who goes out as a cadet to Bengal. *He is the son to my relation and neighbour in the country, and is a very meritorious young man*, and I request to put him under your protection, and shall be much obliged to your Lordship for any attention you may show him. I have the honour to be, with great respect and regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant, Fife."

"Hanover Square.

"My dear Wellesley,

"I have been applied to by Lady Uxbridge, to recommend the bearer, Mr. Erskine, to your notice. I understand he is in the civil service. Yours affectionately, W. Wellesley Pole."

FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH.

"My dear Lord,

"I have been requested by Lady Dacre, sister to my revered friend, the late Lord Camden, to recommend Mr. George Tyler, who stands high on the list of the civil service at Madras, to your favourable notice. What his present views are I am unacquainted with, but, as nephew of the late Lord Dacre, and thereby connected with Lord Camden's family, I shall feel very grateful for any service you may find yourself enabled to render him. Believe me, my dear Lord, with great regard, your faithful servant, &c. Castlereagh."*

LADY AMELIA CAMPBELL TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Wimpole Street, 23rd August, 1802.

"My Lord,

"I did myself the honour of writing to your Lordship about eighteen months ago, to solicit your kindness

* The following is one of Lord Wellesley's memorandums :—

List of the letters of recommendation from Lord Castlereagh, as follows :—

Date of the Letter.	*Persons recommended.*
14th March, 1803 .	Mr. Kennedy, Cadet
14th Feb. 1803 . .	Mr. Saunders, Bengal Writer.
17th Dec. 1802 . .	Mr. Walpire, Writer.
1st March, 1803 .	Mr. Skipton.
„ do. do. .	Mr. Blacke, Cadet.
7th do. do. .	Lieut.-Col. Nightingale.
22nd do. do. .	Mr. Smith.
20th April, do. . .	Mr. Kennedy, Assistant-Surgeon, Bengal.
19th do. do. . .	Capt. Storruck, of the ship Preston.
28th do. do. . .	Mr. Packenham.
18th May, do. . .	Mr. Roxborough, Jun.

and patronage for Mr. David Burges, whose seniority in the Company's service, and great respectability of character, would so fully justify any preference your Lordship may be pleased to show to him, that I cannot refrain from calling your Lordship's attention once more to his claims upon a service to which the best years of his life have been devoted. His want of interest in Leadenhall-street, which has hitherto prevented his promotion, will not injure him in your Lordship's opinion as you can yourself judge of his pretensions; and I know it is your pride to reward merit and long service, and to promote the most deserving, without attending to the recommendations of those in power. I have therefore only to wish, that Mr. David Burges may have opportunities of being known to your Lordship before you quit India. As an excuse for the liberty I have taken, I beg leave to represent that I have known Mrs. Burges from a child, that she was for some years under my care; that I am much attached to her, and warmly interested in her welfare. It would therefore afford me the greatest pleasure to hear that Mr. David Burges was placed in a comfortable and lucrative situation, which might enable him to return to England in a few years, and superintend the education of their young family.

"Lady Wellesley is at Brighton with her family. I heard lately that they were all well. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and regard, my Lord, your Lordship's obliged and faithful servant,

"AMELIA CAMPBELL."

Many of the gentlemen thus recommended to the Marquess Wellesley were in due course, after a period

of probation, advanced to stations of trust and dignity ; but they had the honourable satisfaction of reflecting that they owed their elevation or promotion rather to integrity and talents for public business,* than to the force of a species of influence against which many of their competitors were utterly unable to cope.

The following letters exhibit Lord Wellesley in the amiable character of a mediator between a father and son. His Lordship had the happiness of completely reconciling the parties; one of whom was under his protection in India, the other occupying an important official station in England :—

" Maiden Early, 8th Oct. 1801.

" My Lord,

" Having just received a letter from my son which has filled me with vexation and surprise, I intrude on your Lordship for a moment just to say, that whatever may be the result of his most imprudent and unfortunate attachment, I shall ever feel the utmost gratitude and thankfulness for your Lordship's most kind interposition of authority to retard, at least, and I wish I could hope effectually to prevent, a step which, at his early time of life, must be so fatal to his future prospects, and destructive of all the anxious endeavours which I have exerted for his happy and successful establishment in life. My consent he cannot have to

* " The Governor-General, amid the talents for command which he possessed in a very unusual degree, displayed two qualities of primary importance. He has seldom been surpassed *in the skill with which he made choice of his instruments;* and having made choice of his instruments, he communicated to them, with full and unsparing hands, the powers which were necessary for the end they were employed to accomplish."—*Mill.*

the union he seems so rashly determined to form, and I can only express my wish that a fair and not dishonourable means might yet be devised to prevent it. It is with much reluctance and concern that I trouble your Lordship, who, I am convinced, will make due allowance for a father's feelings on this distressing occasion, and will suffer me to hope and solicit, that however mortifying it certainly must be to his family here, it may not withdraw from him a continuance of your Lordship's favour and protection.

"With the utmost admiration and respect for the great qualities which have distinguished your Lordship's government of India, I beg leave to subscribe myself, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and faithful humble servant, "E * * * * * G * * * * *."

"Maiden Early, 27th August, 1802.

"My Lord,

"Finding by this morning's post that the overland dispatch for Bengal will go off this night, I lose not a moment in sending a few lines in extreme haste, by express, to town in hopes of their being in time to acknowledge most thankfully the honour of your Lordship's very kind letter dated near Patna, the 23rd of March, of which I have just received the duplicate by the *Mornington* packet. Whatever gratitude can be excited in the breast of a parent, for the restoration of happiness to a whole family in their reconciliation to a beloved son; whatever gratification can result to a benevolent and generous mind from relieving the anxiety of others, I beg leave most humbly to offer to your

Lordship for the satisfaction we all this moment experience, which has been bestowed upon us amidst the most important occupations pressing on your Lordship's time : and for which I shall ever retain a sense which it is out of my power to express. The condescending goodness with which your Lordship has been pleased to communicate to me all the circumstances of my son's marriage, has filled me with sensations little short of regret for the effect which I allowed the first intimation of his attachment to have on my own mind, and the affliction which I apprehend my severe reproof must have inflicted on his. The kind, and I may even say the parental, interest which your Lordship manifested in his welfare leaves me no room to solicit any thing, and will best direct his future destiny.

"Had I no personal or domestic feeling in the continuance of your Lordship to direct the vast machine of our Eastern empire, I could not be insensible to the great and important interests of this nation, which are involved in whatever determination your Lordship may make on this point. Influenced by public motives alone, and fully sensible of that judgment, experience, and discernment, which is requisite to preserve all those splendid advantages which so much zeal and activity have acquired, I should say *serus in Angliam redeas;* but, whenever that event may take place, there can, I hope, be no doubt that all the eminent services performed by your Lordship, and the great benefits which this nation has derived from them, will be duly appreciated by those most capable of judging of them ; and that the cavils of the ignorant, the malevolent, or the envious, will be dispersed and put to silence ; that your

Lordship may find every satisfaction that public gratitude can bestow, and enjoy every possible domestic happiness, is the sincerest wish of, my Lord, your Lordship's ever obliged and faithful humble servant,

"E * * * * * G * * * * * *."

"East Bourne, 15th Sept. 1802.

"My Lord,

"Having this moment met with a favourable opportunity of repeating my thankful acknowledgments for your Lordship's kind letter of the 25th of March, I avail myself of it, to forward a duplicate of one which I dispatched to your Lordship over land the 29th ult. If I could find words to express more strongly than I have done there, my sense of your Lordship's most friendly and kind regard to my son's welfare, as well as my own happiness, I should not fail to do it. Having come over from Brighton to this place this morning, where I left Lady Wellesley and your charming family all quite well; from whom I have brought a packet for Mr. Addington to deliver to Colonel Harcourt, who expects to see him every hour on his return to India, or to meet him on the road for London, for which he is setting off this afternoon; I have only just time to make up this hasty scrawl as I am also returning to Brighton. Should your Lordship not have left India before Colonel Harcourt makes it, I hope your Lordship will receive every possible satisfaction from the dispatches he conveys. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, your Lordship's most obliged and most faithful servant, "E * * * * * G * * * * * *."

In a letter from Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, recommending his nephew, William Robinson, to the notice of the Governor-General, we have another illustration of the plan which the Marquess Wellesley acted upon with regard to appointments:—"He is perfectly aware of the principle on which your Lordship bestows notice and countenance upon young persons in his situation; and although he may be received by your Lordship with kindness through my recommendation, he knows that he must merit a continuance of your Lordship's protection by the propriety of his own conduct, and by his industry and application."

CHAPTER IX.

Peace of Amiens. — A mere Armistice. — Injurious Provisions of the Treaty. — Surrender of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, &c. — Restitution to the French of the Settlements conquered in India. — Vacillation of the Ministers. — Series of Letters from Lord Hobart to Marquess Wellesley, from the Commencement of Negotiations with France to the Suspension of Hostilities. — Letter of Charles Mills, Esq., John Roberts, Esq.,—from Mr. W. Elliot, of Trim, Ireland. — Letter to General Fox respecting the Indian Army in Egypt.—From the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Rainier.—Arrival of a French Squadron at Pondicherry. — Lord Clive's Answer to the French Commander.— Marquess Wellesley's Resolution not to surrender the Place until he received further Orders.—Observations in Parliament on the Peace of Amiens.—Letters from Lord Hobart, urging the Marquess Wellesley to re-take the French Possessions in India — The King's Message to Parliament on the Renewal of the War.—Remarks on the Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Ceylon.

The peace of Amiens was little more than an *armistice;* and well it was for the maritime, commercial, and political interests of the United Kingdom that the disgraceful provisions of the ill-judged treaty upon which it was based were not carried into effect as the foundation of a permanent settlement. The annexed series of letters addressed to the Marquess Wellesley exhibit in a very striking light the vacillations and doubts of his Majesty's Ministers at this period, and show that if the designs of France were frustrated in British India, the English people owed the maintenance of their dignity and interests much less to the foresight of the

Home Government, than to the firmness and caution of the servants of the Crown and East India Company at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The English were to evacuate Egypt, Malta, and every port in the Mediterranean!—which, under the auspices of Napoleon, was to be transformed into a "French lake!"—the French were to be reinstated in all the possessions in India, which they had held as means of obstructing and counteracting the plans of the British in the East!—The Mauritius was to continue as a colony of France!—while the Cape of Good Hope, the gates of our Indian Empire, the value of which had been so ably demonstrated by Lord Wellesley, Lord Macartney, Sir David Baird, &c. was to be surrendered to the enemy!

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &C.

"Downing Street, 12th Oct., 1801.

"My Lord,

"I herewith transmit to you the articles of peace signed on the 1st instant by the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, on the part of his Majesty, and by Mr. Otto, on the part of the French Government; the ratifications whereof have been exchanged, by which it is agreed that hostilities shall cease immediately between the two powers, and between them and their allies respectively; together with a proclamation which his Majesty has been pleased to issue, enjoining the cessation of hostilities accordingly, and I am to signify to your Lordship the King's commands that you are, on the receipt of this dispatch, to abstain from the commission of all hostili-

ties against the subjects of France, or her allies. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, most humble servant, HOBART."

The second, third, and fourth of those preliminary articles were to the following effect: they were well calculated to create a sensation in India :—"His Britannic Majesty shall restore to the French Republic and her allies, namely, to his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions occupied or conquered by the English forces in the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, of which island and possessions his Britannic Majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty. The port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

"The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, &c."

CHARLES MILLS, ESQ. TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(Private.)

"London, 14th Oct., 1801.

"MY LORD,

"Your Lordship has been already informed of preliminaries of peace having been signed here on the 1st instant, between this country and France. I have now the satisfaction to say that the treaty was returned from France ratified on the 10th instant. Upon the terms of peace in general, I shall not presume to offer

an opinion further than to remark that owing to a combination of circumstances, it will be considered by the people as a blessing.

"As all the places in India taken from the enemy, and occupied by the British forces during the war, are now to be delivered up, it will be a material object for the Company to attend to the settlement of the definitive treaty; and care should be taken that the French do not enjoy greater privileges than formerly at their factories.

"It is extremely fortunate for us that Lord Cornwallis is fixed upon as the negotiator: he is so conversant in all the leading points respecting our interests in India, as to stand very little in need of any hints or observations from us in the adjustment of the cessions to be made. The possession of Ceylon is of vast importance to us, and will, I trust, set us so free from apprehension of our external foes as to warrant a very considerable reduction of our military force in India. Upon that interesting and political topic it is not fitting for me to dwell in a private letter further than to observe that the state of our finances, as your Lordship well knows, will require any practical retrenchment of expenditure that can be made consistently with prudence and safety to the Indian Empire.

* * * * *

"I have the honour to remain, my Lord, your very faithful and obedient servant CHARLES MILLS."*

* Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

"East India House, 16th Oct., 1801.

"My Lord,

"The Court of Directors having done me the honour of electing me their Deputy Chairman, I trouble your Lordship with a few lines, principally to say that the Chairman has done me the favour of communicating to me the letter he has written to your Lordship by this conveyance, the contents of which perfectly coincide with my opinion. I have only, therefore, to hope that your Lordship's labours in the task of reform and retrenchment, so absolutely necessary in the present state of the Company's affairs, will be crowned with success, and add to the fame your Lordship has already acquired in India.

"I shall always esteem myself fortunate in my endeavours on this side to carry your Lordship's measures into effect, and remain very respectfully, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"John Roberts."

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

(Most secret.)

"Downing Street, Feb., 1802.

"My Lord,

"Some circumstances having occurred which render it not improbable that the negotiation at Amiens *may be interrupted*, I have received his Majesty's commands to direct that your Lordship will cause the utmost circumspection to be employed for guarding against the consequences, the possible recurrence of hostility; that you will with this view issue the most

positive directions for the observance of the strictest vigilance in every department of the public service, regulating your conduct towards all persons in authority under the French Government at Mauritius, or acting in concert with it, by that regard to the protection and security of the British possessions and interests in India which has so much distinguished your Lordship's administration in that important part of the empire. I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"HOBART."

"PS. It can scarcely be necessary, under the present circumstances which have given occasion to this letter, to point out to your Lordship how extremely important it is that Goa should continue to be occupied by British forces."

The following letter from Ireland describes the effects of the peace on that part of the Kingdom which then suffered the horrors of a scarcity of food :—

"Trim, February 11th, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"Having been honoured with a signification of your Lordship's wish that I should, at certain times, write to you some account of the state of this country and neighbourhood, I feel it my duty to fulfil, according to the best of my power, your Lordship's commands on that subject, although there is nothing I can communicate which will justify, I fear, my claiming your attention even for a few minutes.

"The restoration of peace to Europe has happily had

the effect of giving internal tranquillity to this country; the disaffected have, I think, ceased to agitate the minds of the common people. The hope of considerable French assistance has always been the point they relied on, and this having vanished, they seem, from every thing I can observe or learn, to have settled into a state of contentment and industry. Whatever we enjoy of present security—whatever the loyalists of Ireland may possess of prosperity—nay, their very existence as a people,—they may impute to the manly, decided, and vigorous counsels of the late ever-to-be-lamented Earl of Clare. His death your Lordship will of course be informed of: it is the subject of as general regret to one part of his Majesty's subjects, as it is of joy and exultation to the other. His funeral on Tuesday se'nnight strongly exemplified this truth; the uncommonly numerous and respectable attendance, the sincere and unaffected sorrow of hundreds of the well-affected, formed a striking contrast to the savage, inhuman, and almost incredible demonstrations of joy which, with every species of indecent and tumultuous rejoicing, were exhibited by the populace of Dublin. Of his successor as Chancellor, we know nothing. The Speaker (Sir John Mitford) is talked of.

"Our country politics give us the prospect of a very warm and well-fought contest at the next general election; it seems generally to be the opinion that Georges will certainly be returned; the struggle, therefore, will be between Sir Mar. Somerville and Mr. Blyth:—the latter is recommended to your Lordship's tenantry by Mr. Pole.

"In the corporation every thing and every body go on

as usual. We have *not yet* begun to feel the loss of your Lordship's protection.

* * * * *

We are blessed with a year of unusual abundance, after being visited by two successive years of such dearth and scarcity as one is shocked to look to. The distresses of the poor cannot be conceived but by those who witnessed them. Great exertions were everywhere made, to administer relief to the suffering labourers and their families, and by those exertions many hundreds were rescued from actual starving. The very munificent manner in which Mr. Pole,* (in your Lordship's name) contributed to our parochial subscription, will long be remembered, I hope, with true gratitude.

* * * * *

We are told by our newspapers that your Lordship is about to return to Europe as soon as a successor is settled. May you return in safety, and long enjoy the honours so well earned by your able and prosperous government. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most obedient humble servant, WILLIAM ELLIOT."

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

" Downing Street, 19th March, 1802.

" MY LORD,

" Since I had the honour of writing to your Lordship on the 28th ultimo, circumstances have happened which render the favourable termination of the negotiation at Amiens more probable than it was at that time :

* Mr. Wellesley Pole, Lord Wellesley's brother.

and although his Majesty's Ministers have every reason to expect that this treaty will be brought to a conclusion in the course of a few days, when it would be in my power to remove all doubt upon the subject, I avail myself of the present opportunity to inform your Lordship of the satisfactory change which would appear to have taken place.

"The late events at St. Domingo are so much connected with the actual state of the negotiation, and so calculated to bring it to a speedy conclusion, that I have judged it advisable to send your Lordship the paper of the French Government communicating those events.

"I have the honour to be, &c. HOBART."

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

"Downing Street, 31st March, 1802.

"MY LORD,

"I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your Lordship an Extraordinary Gazette, announcing the arrival of Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to the Marquess Cornwallis, with the definitive treaty of peace, which was signed at Amiens on the 27th inst.

"Your Lordship will not fail to make this important communication public throughout the presidencies, forts, and possessions of the Crown, and of the East India Company under your Lordship's government and command.

"I have the honour to be, &c. HOBART."

[Enclosure.]

THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

(Published by Authority)

"Monday, March 29, 1802.

"Downing Street, March 29, 1802.

"Mr. Moore, assistant-secretary to Marquess Cornwallis, arrived this morning at nine o'clock with the definitive treaty of peace, which was signed at Amiens at four o'clock, in the afternoon of the 27th inst. by the plenipotentiary of his Majesty, and by the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic."

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Downing Street, 9th April, 1802.

"My Lord,

"Inclosed I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of my letter to General Fox, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces in the Mediterranean, relative to the disposal and return of the Indian army now serving in Egypt. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"Hobart."

TO GENERAL FOX, &c.

(Enclosure.)

"Sir,

"It being judged expedient that the native troops from India, now serving in Egypt, should be sent back to that establishment by the ships now at Suez, I have his Majesty's commands to direct that you will, upon the receipt hereof, take the necessary measures for car-

rying this service into execution; and that you will order Major-General Baird to proceed with those troops, and with such detachments of the European corps belonging to the Indian establishment as the separate instructions from his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief may point out to you.

"His Majesty having been pleased to direct that the tenth and sixty-first regiments, and the detachment of the eighty-eighth should remain in Egypt, I am to desire that you will immediately issue orders for their being placed upon the same footing in regard to pay and allowances with the other corps of his Majesty's army now serving in that country.

"You will give instructions to Major-General Baird to consult with the officer in the command of his Majesty's ships in the Red Sea, at what port in India it may be most advisable to land the sepoys of Bombay,* as well as to concert with him respecting the disembarkation of the European detachment. The Bengal sepoys should be sent by sea to Calcutta, unless the Government of India shall have otherwise directed, or unless from well authenticated information relative to the situation of affairs in the southern provinces, Major-General Baird should be induced to think it essential to the public service, that the troops under his command should be landed to re-inforce the army in those provinces; in which event it will be proper that he should immediately acquaint the Government of India with the motives of his conduct, and conform to any instructions he may receive from them. I have the honour to be, &c. HOBART."

* Bantry in Orig.

The fifth of the preliminary articles of peace was to this effect: "Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war."

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(Secret and confidential.)

"Downing Street, 5th May, 1802.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship by the King's command, a copy of the definitive treaty of peace signed at Amiens on the 27th of March, and also *his Majesty's warrant authorising and directing you to restore to the French and Batavian Republics respectively, all the countries, territories, and factories, with the exception of the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, which belonged to them respectively in India, and which had been occupied or conquered by his Majesty's forces, and you will take the necessary measures for placing the subjects of the French and Batavian Republics in India, upon the same footing on which they stood at the commencement of the war.* *

"I have further received his Majesty's commands to signify to your Lordship, that in the event of any question arising with respect to the situation of the French in India, you will consider the provisions of the Convention of 1787, as constituting the rule by which your conduct is to be governed upon such questions.

* It will be seen hereafter that Lord Wellesley thought it right to defer the execution of these orders—so repugnant to his views of sound policy.

"Those provisions having been agreed upon at that time between the respective governments of Great Britain and France, after full discussion and mutual explanation, it is his Majesty's pleasure, under the present circumstances, to allow to France all the advantages of that convention, and to direct that the stipulations therein contained should be invariably observed. I have the honour to be, &c. HOBART."

On the 19th of October, 1802, Lord Hobart addressed a secret letter, in cypher, to the Marquess of Wellesley, in which he mentioned that circumstances had arisen rendering a delay of the restitution of the French possessions in India necessary.

On the 14th of November, the following important instructions were dispatched from the Admiralty :—

TO VICE-ADMIRAL RAINIER.

[Enclosed in a letter from Lord Hobart to the Marquess Wellesley written in cypher dated 16th Nov., 1802.]

(Most secret.)

"Admiralty Office, 14th Nov., 1802.

"SIR,

"My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have received intelligence that a squadron consisting of two ships of the line, two frigates, and two corvettes, have been fitted out at Brest, and are to proceed under the command of Monsieur Linois to the East Indies, having on board Monsieur Leger, appointed Captain-General of the French establishments to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope ; and that another squadron of

three ships of the line, and two frigates, has also been fitted out at the same port, supposed to be bound to the same destination, and to join M. Linois at a certain rendezvous ; I am commanded by their Lordships to send you herewith a copy of the said intelligence, and to signify their direction to you to defer the execution of their Lordships' orders to you of the 9th of April last, for the reduction of the force under your command, until you shall receive further instructions from their Lordships on the subject.

"I have their Lordships' further commands to acquaint you that in consequence of the information above stated, three ships of the line, and a frigate, will be ordered to join you without delay, and without waiting for each other, if they should not be ready at nearly the same time. Those ships will proceed in the first instance to Trincomalé, if they can reach that place in the course of the month of April ; but if they should happen to be delayed in their passage beyond that period, they will in such case be directed to proceed to Madras. You will therefore regulate your proceedings accordingly, and convey such instructions to their commanders as the circumstances may appear to you to require.

"Your first object in the present situation of affairs should be that of endeavouring to assemble such a force, in the most convenient situation, as may be sufficient to any plan which may be meditated by the French Government prejudicial to the British interests in that part of the world.

"I have their Lordship's further commands to enclose to you a copy of a dispatch which has been

written by Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to the Marquess Wellesley, (transmitted to him by this opportunity,) containing instructions for his guidance, and to signify their Lordships' direction to you, to regulate your proceedings according to the tenour of those instructions, and to coöperate with his Lordship by every means in your power in the execution of them.

"This dispatch will be conveyed to you by the Company's messenger over land, and a duplicate will be forwarded to you by the *Concorde* frigate to-morrow, which ship will be directed to call at the Cape of Good Hope with directions for the return to India of any part of your force, in a serviceable state, that you may have ordered home. I am, &c.,

(Signed) "Evan Nepean."

On the 16th of November, 1802,—that is, two days after the date of the preceding dispatch,—Lord Hobart addressed another letter to the Marquess Wellesley, saying, that "notwithstanding his letter of the 19th of October, his Majesty commanded the immediate execution of the instructions forwarded for the restitution of the French possessions;" and urging upon the Governor-General the necessity of conciliation.

A man of less firmness than the Marquess Wellesley would, perhaps, have obeyed these commands; but deeming them to be injurious to the public interests, he took upon himself the responsibility of deferring their execution. The result was that when the French squadron arrived at Pondicherry, Lord Clive informed the French commander that he had not received direc-

tions from the Governor-General to surrender the place; and his Lordship referred him to Lord Wellesley, who had declared his intention of holding the possession of the conquered French settlements until he was enabled to communicate with the Home Government.

The provisions of the treaty of peace were very severely criticised in both Houses of Parliament.

"By the result of this treaty," said the opponents of the peace of Amiens, "we are, in truth, a conquered people. Buonaparte is as much our master as he is of Spain or Prussia, or any of those countries which, though nominally independent, are really subjected to his control. Are our resources exhausted? Is the danger imminent, that such degrading terms are acceded to? On the contrary, our wealth is unbounded; our fleets are omnipotent; and we have recently humbled the veterans of France, even on their own element! We now make peace, it seems, because we foresee a time at no distant period, when we shall be obliged to do so; we capitulate, like General Menou, when we have still some ammunition left. The first question for every independent power inheriting a glorious name to ask itself is, 'Is the part I am to act consonant to the high reputation I have borne in the world?' Judging by this standard, what shall we say of the present treaty? France gives up nothing; for Egypt, at the time of its conclusion, was not hers to give. England, with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon, gives up everything. By the result of the treaty, France possesses in Europe all the Continent excepting Austria and Prussia; in Asia, Pondicherry,

Cochin, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands ; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Senegal ; in the Mediterranean, every fortified port excepting Gibraltar,—so that an inland sea may now be truly called a French lake ; in the West Indies, part at least of St. Domingo, Martinique, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, Louisiana, in virtue of a secret treaty with Spain ; in South America, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, and Guiana, as far as the river of the Amazons. Such is the power which we are required to contemplate without dismay, and under the shadow of whose greatness we are invited to lie down with perfect tranquillity and composure! What would the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Somers, or such weak and deluded men as viewed with jealousy the power of Louis XIV., have said to a peace which not only confirms to France the possession nearly of the whole of Europe, but extends her empire over every other part of the globe ?

"But the peace is founded, it would appear, on another hope ; on the idea that Buonaparte, now that he has become a sovereign, will no longer be a supporter of revolutionary schemes, but do his utmost to maintain the rank and authority which he has so recently acquired. But although nothing seems more certain than that, in that quarter at least, the democratic mania is for the present completely extinguished, yet it by no means follows from that circumstance that it does not exist,—and that too, in a most dangerous form,—in other states in close alliance with the present ruler of France.

"Though the head of an absolute monarchy in that kingdom, he is adored as the essence of jacobinism in

this country; and maintains a party here, only the more dangerous that its members are willing to sacrifice to him not only the independence of their country, but the whole consistency of their previous opinions. If any doubt could exist in any reasonable mind that the grand object of the First Consul, as of all preceding governments in France, has been the destruction of this country, it would be removed by the conduct which has been pursued, and the objects that have been insisted for in this very treaty. What can be the object of demanding so many settlements in South America and the West Indies, the Cape and Cochin China, and Malta, so recently won by our arms, if not of building up a maritime and colonial power which may in time come to rival that in this country? It does not augur very favourably of the intentions of a party in any transaction, that his conduct throughout has been marked by the clearest proofs of duplicity and fraud. Now what shall we think of the candour and fairness which, in a treaty with us, proposes the evacuation of Egypt at the very time when they knew, though we did not, that at that moment all their soldiers in Egypt were prisoners of war? Where was their good faith to the Turks, when in the same circumstances they, knowing the fact and the Turks not, took credit from them for this very evacuation? What is this but the ensuring the lottery ticket at the moment when they know it to be drawn? France, it is true, has made great acquisitions; she has made the Rhine the boundary of her empire; but on our side we had gained successes no less brilliant and striking; we had multiplied our colonies, and our navy rode tri-

umphant. We had rescued Egypt, we had captured Malta and Minorca, and the Mediterranean was shut up from the ships of France and Spain. In the East Indies we had possessed ourselves of everything except Batavia, which we should have taken, if it had been worth the cost of an expedition. We had made ourselves masters of the Cape,—an important and necessary step towards Eastern dominion. In the West Indies we had everything desirable, Martinique, Trinidad, St. Lucie, and Guadaloupe; while on the continent of South America we had an absolute empire, under the name of Surinam and Demerara, almost equal to the European power to whom we have now restored it. But what have we done with these immense acquisitions, far exceeding, in present magnitude and ultimate importance, all the conquests of France on the continent of Europe? Have we retained them as pledges to compel the restoration of the balance of European power, or if that was impossible, as counterpoises in our hands to the acquisitions of France? No; we have surrendered them all at one fell swoop to our implacable enemy, who has thus made as great strides towards maritime supremacy in one single treaty, as he had effected towards continental dominion in nine successful campaigns."

How truly the Marquess Wellesley had anticipated*

* This was the third great occasion on which Lord Wellesley's foresight had completely anticipated the instructions of the Home Government. In this instance, as well as in the instances of the war with Tippoo Sultaun and the Red Sea expedition, we cannot help admiring "the minute exactness with which his Lordship's sagacity led him, of his own accord, to pursue the line of conduct pointed out to him from this country."

the course of events in Europe, and how effectually he had carried into execution the wishes entertained by the government after mature consideration, *by postponing the execution of their orders*, the following letters of Lord Hobart will indicate :—

TO MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

"Downing Street, 18th March, 1803.

"My Lord,

"I transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of the two messages from his Majesty to Parliament, and of the addresses that have been unanimously voted in consequence.

"I trust that the issue of the discussions therein alluded to, will be such as to correspond with his Majesty's wishes for the maintenance of peace, as far as may be consistent with the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the essential interests of his people ; but as the result must be uncertain, I have great satisfaction in being able to inform your Lordship that the naval and military preparations which it has been judged necessary to order, are in a state of considerable forwardness.

"In the dispatch which your Lordship will receive by this opportunity from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, the sentiments of Government are as fully explained as the present circumstances will admit of. Should any material change take place in the situation of public affairs, your Lordship may be assured that the earliest communication will be made to you of the views which his Majesty's confidential servants may in consequence be led to entertain. I have the honour to

be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant, "HOBART."

[Enclosure I.]

"George R. — In consequence of the preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, whilst important discussions are subsisting between his Majesty and the French Government, his Majesty thinks it due to the care and concern which he feels for his faithful people, to omit no means in his power which may contribute to their security.

"In pursuance therefore of the Acts of Parliament enabling his Majesty to call out and assemble the militia of the United Kingdom, his Majesty has thought it right to make this communication to this House, to the end that his Majesty may cause the said militia, or such part thereof as his Majesty shall think necessary, to be forthwith drawn out and to march as occasion shall require.

[Enclosure II.]

"George R.—His Majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. The preparations to which his Majesty refers are avowedly directed to colonial service; yet as discussions of great importance are now subsisting between his Majesty and the French Government, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his Majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful Commons in the full persuasion, that whilst

they partake of his Majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality to enable his Majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require, for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people."

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

(Secret.)

"Downing Street, 7th May, 1803.

"My Lord,

"I have received the King's commands to acquaint you, that the discussions between his Majesty and the French Government affording little expectation of a favourable termination, the utmost vigilance and circumspection must be observed in every department of the service under your Lordship's government. I have the honour to be, &c. Hobart."

On the 17th of May, 1803, Lord Hobart announced in dispatch to Lord Wellesley the recall of the British Ambassador at Paris, and the renewal of hostilities between England and France; urging upon his Lordship the duty of re-capturing from the enemy "any forts or possessions which the French may have in India."

Thanks to the Governor-General, however, there were no French forts in India to re-capture!

TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

(Secret.)

"Downing Street, 23rd June, 1803.

"My Lord,

"In my secret letter of the 16th of May, in which I informed you of the recall of his Majesty's Ambassador from Paris, I apprised your Lordship of the probability of the rupture with France being followed by an interruption of the good understanding subsisting between his Majesty and the Batavian Republic.

"I have now received the King's commands to transmit for your information, a copy of his Majesty's message to Parliament, notifying the recall of his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary from the Hague and to acquaint you at the same time, that his Majesty has been pleased in consequence of that event to order letters of marque and reprisal to be immediately issued against the ships and vessels of the Batavian, as well as against the ships and vessels of the French Republic.

"Your Lordship is therefore to consider the former orders relative to the vessels and possessions of France in India, as extended without any qualification to those of the Batavian Republic; and I am to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that you should take the speediest and most effectual measures for acquiring possession of Cochin, and for demolishing the fortifications thereof. I have the honour to be, &c. Hobart."

The vast interests which, since the peace of Amiens, have grown up in the East, render it nearly an impossibility that the Cape, the Mauritius, or Ceylon,

should be wrested from the hands of Great Britain by a foreign enemy, or basely left to their fate by this country; but Englishmen never should forget that the safety of the Anglo-Indian empire depends upon the unflinching maintenance of British authority in those out-posts, and that the power of England is only to be upheld by steady perseverance in the same course of vigorous and decided policy to which our superiority over other nations owed its existence.

CHAPTER X.

New Government House in Calcutta.—Magnificent Fête at its Opening in Honour of the Peace.—Description of the Scene, the Fire-works, Illuminations, Ball-room, Supper, &c.—Splendid Decorations.—Exhibition of Trophies. — Public Honours to our Naval and Military Heroes. — Viscount Valentia's Description of the Ball. — Eight Hundred Persons present.— The Governor-General's Country Residence at Barrackpore.—Lord Wellesley's Style of Living in the East.— Letter from Lady Russell, requesting his Lordship's Presence at a Pic-Nic. — Gaieties of Calcutta and its Neighbourhood. — Pic-Nic Societies.—Description of a Festivity, at which Lord Wellesley was present.

In the early part of the year 1803, the new Government House, erected by the Marquess Wellesley on the esplanade between Fort William and the city, was completed; and was justly regarded as a magnificent monument of the noble Lord's taste, and as an ornament to Calcutta;— it is still accounted the finest building in the capital of Bengal. It consists of a centre with four wings, one at each corner, connected together by circular passages. The centre building contains two very fine rooms. The lower of these, the hall, is paved with marble, and supported by Doric columns; over this is the ball-room, supported by Ionic pillars. The private apartments, the council-room, and other offices, are contained in the wings. On a line with this building is a range of handsome dwelling-houses with spacious verandahs. Lord Wellesley resolved to celebrate its

opening with a superb fête, as a public mark of rejoicing at the cessation of hostilities, consequent on the peace of Amiens; of which the following is an account, by one who was present on that interesting occasion:—

On the evening of the 26th of January, 1803, a most splendid entertainment was given to about eight hundred ladies and gentlemen, at the new Government House, in honour of the general peace.

The Nawab Delawur Jung, Yara Dowlaw, the vakeel of his Highness the Soubahdar of the Deccan, Khan Jehan Khan, late Foujedar of Hoogly, and several of the principal native inhabitants of Calcutta, and the vakeels from the foreign native courts, were present on this occasion.

At an early hour of the evening the ramparts of Fort William, the shipping in the river, and all the principal buildings fronting the esplanade were brilliantly illuminated. An extensive illumination, interspersed with a variety of beautiful transparencies, was at the same time exhibited in the environs of the new Government House.

The company began to assemble about nine o'clock, and a little before ten his Excellency, the Governor-General, arrived at the new Government House from the fort, where he had dined with Major Calcraft, the town Major. A detachment of the body guard of fifty men, and a column from his Majesty's 78th regiment, and a detachment of native infantry, formed a street from the north-west entrance to the north portico of the Government House, and received his Excellency with the usual military honours.

After holding a durbar in the northern verandah for the vakeels and natives, and receiving the accustomed compliments of ceremony from them, his Excellency, attended by the stewards and his suite, entered the ball-room and took his seat in a chair of state at the upper end of the room. The chair was placed on an octagonal carpet of rich workmanship, which had been the state carpet of Tippoo Sultaun, and had formed one of the ornaments of that Prince's throne.

Chairs were likewise prepared to the right and left of his Excellency for the Chief Justice, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the members of the Council, The Governor of the Danish settlement of Serampore was present, and sat near the Governor-General.

Soon after his Excellency had taken his seat the dancing commenced, and continued till twelve o'clock. There were two sets of about forty couples each.

At twelve o'clock the suite of apartments on the marble floor were thrown open for supper, and the whole of this numerous company was accommodated at five ranges of tables in the principal apartments, and another range in the north-east wing. The tables were covered with a profusion of every delicacy, and were ornamented in a style of superior taste and magnificence.

The Governor-General's band played a variety of martial airs during the time of supper.

About one o'clock a signal being made by the discharge of rockets, the company dispersed themselves through the several porticos, corridors, and apartments fronting the esplanade of this spacious mansion, and

were entertained till half-past two o'clock with a rapid succession of the most brilliant fireworks. At half-past two a salvo from the fort terminated the fireworks, and served as a signal for returning to the ball-room, when dancing was renewed and continued until near four o'clock, at which hour his Excellency retired.

The arrangement of the ball was under the directions of Captains Daniell, Bristow, Carnac, White, and Major Bradshaw, who were appointed by his Excellency to act as stewards on this occasion.

The illuminations within the fort were under the superintendence of Captain Blunt, and those in the environs of the Government House were directed by Major Calcraft, town-major of Fort William. The fireworks were also under the control of Captain Blunt, and were executed by artificers sent to Calcutta for the purpose from Lucknow* and Moorshedabad."

The following details will convey a just idea of the most striking parts of this splendid ceremony.

DECORATIONS OF THE SUPPER TABLE.

The most remarkable objects were a galley bringing the intelligence of peace; a frigate decorated with colours; some curious Egyptian obelisks, covered with hieroglyphics; and a temple emblematical of peace, and of the gallant exploits of our naval and military commanders during the late war. The temple consisted of eight Corinthian pillars, supporting four pediments, the

* An additional proof of the friendly feeling entertained at this period by the Nabob Vizier of Oude toward Lord Wellesley. There are several letters in the MSS. from Lucknow respecting these pyrotechnical artists sent by the Vizier to aid at this fête.

whole crowned by a light dome. The pediments were ornamented with paintings, of—

1. The action off Cape St. Vincent, 14th of February, 1798.

2. The battle of the Nile, 1st of August, 1798.

3. The storming of Seringapatam, 4th of May, 1799.

4. The landing of the British army under Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Egypt, 8th of March, 1801.

The friezes of the temple were also decorated with the following appropriate mottos:—

I.

"Placitam Paci, Nutritor Olivam.

II.

Nelson, August 1, 1798.

"Atque hic undantem bello, magnumque fluentem,
Nilum, ac Navali surgentes ære columnas."

III.

Mysore, May 4.

Harris, Brydges,
Floyd, Popham,
Stuart, Baird. *
Hartley,

"Addam urbes Asiæ domitas, pulsumq. Nephaten,
Et duo rapta manu diverse in hoste trophæa,
Bisq. triumphatas utroq. ab littore Gentes."

* This circumstance affords another proof that Lord Wellesley never withheld his public approbation of the gallant conduct of General Baird at Seringapatam, as has been asserted in Hook's Life of Baird.—*Vide* vol. i. chap. xv.

IV.

EGYPT.

Abercrombie,	Moore,
Hutchinson,	Cavan,
Coote,	Ludlow,
Cradock.	Baird.

" Victor ab Auroræ populis, et littore rubro
Ægyptum, virsq. Orientis, et ultima secum,
Bactria vehit——"

V.

PITT.

" Te Copias, Te Consilium, et Tuos
Præbente Divos."

VI.

CORNWALLIS.

" Idem Pacis, Mediusq. Belli."

VII.

Howe, June 1, 1794.
Duncan, Oct. 11, 1797.
St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1798.
Nelson, August 1, 1798.
" Tempora Navali fulgent rostrata Coronâ."

ILLUMINATIONS.

Opposite the southern limits front of the Government House was an illuminated façade, forty feet high, extending three hundred and fifty feet on each side of a temple dedicated to Peace ; in the lower part of which there was a transparent painting fifteen feet square :—

"Britannia destroying the implements of war, and receiving the olive-branch from Peace."

On one side the temple of Janus, and on the other, the ocean, ships sailing, &c.

The royal arms were displayed in the pediment.

A range of double pilasters, of the Doric order, led to the temples of Fame and Valour; in the intervals of which portraits of the following eminent statesmen, and highly-distinguished officers, were displayed :—

Right Hon.	William Pitt,	Lords	Duncan,
„	H. Addington,	„	Bridport,
Lords	Cornwallis,	„	Hood,
„	Spencer,	„	Nelson,
„	Howe,	Sir	R. Abercrombie,
„	St. Vincent,	„	Sidney Smith.

From the temples of Valour and Fame a chain of illuminations, rising in pyramidical forms, thirty-six feet in height, was continued to the Durrumtollah on the left, and to Champaul Ghaut on the right, crossing the road to the fort, from the corners of which it extended to the crest of the glacis, and apparently connected with the illumination on the ramparts and Calcutta gate.

Opposite to each wing of the Government House were three lofty and illuminated arches (the arch in the centre rising sixty feet), crowned with appropriate ornaments.

Two transparencies were erected opposite to the east and west fronts of the Government House. The transparency on the east side represented a battle; "Lake," in a wreath of laurel at the top. On one

side the arms of General Lake ; on the other his crest, and under the whole the word "Lincelles," and trophies in honour of the memorable success of the British troops at Lincelles, under the command of General Lake.

The other transparency represented a view of Seringapatam ; portraits of Generals Harris and Baird* on each side, and on the top appropriate emblems.

Opposite the northern front of the Government House was a transparency forty feet high :—

"Britannia supporting the world, to which she has restored Peace."

Arabesque scrolls of light connected the whole in one continued illumination, comprehending an extent of near three miles.

In the centre of the esplanade, an Hindostanee illumination of variegated colours representing a temple of fire, appeared about ten o'clock, and afforded a pleasing contrast to the paler lights of the surrounding illumination.

Captain Grant's new ship the *Marquess Wellesley*, was most ingeniously illuminated, and presented an appearance equally novel and beautiful. The *Soonamooky* yacht, and the Government state boats, were also illuminated, and produced a most happy effect.

The whole range of buildings facing the esplanade was lighted in different manners. The Treasury, inhabited by the Governor-General, attracted particular attention. The appearance of the fort was beautiful and magnificent. The Calcutta Gateway was bril-

* *Vide* note, p. 277.

liantly illuminated, connecting on the one side, by arcades of lights, thirty feet in height, with the contiguous bastions and redoubts; from thence in chequer-work with the water-gate, and extending on the other side by ranges of lights intersected with stars and diamond-lights to the Plassey, and royal gateways, Clive's ravelin, and Cartier's counterguard.

Head-quarters, the royal and water gateways, the arsenal, royal barrack, and flag-staff, were also illuminated with a brilliant display of lights.

FIREWORKS.

The fireworks afforded an abundant display of ingenious variety and execution. The most remarkable objects were four figures of fire, representing the fight of the elephant, admirably conducted; a volcano fire, which continued for a considerable time to discharge rockets and flames of different colours; two beautiful temples; some very fine mountains of fire and blue-lights, and a great variety of stars, suns, &c.

Amongst other ingenious devices was a globe, which, after discharging fire for some time, opened and discovered a transparency in Persian characters to the following effect:—

"May your prosperity be perpetual."

During the exhibition of the fireworks, flights of rockets and fireballs were discharged from mortars on the esplanade, and continued salvos from the saluting battery, Vansittart's, Clive's, and Ford's ravelins, and Verelset's counterguard. The flag-staff, ramparts, and most conspicuous buildings in the fort were illuminated at the same time with ranges of blue-lights.

An immense concourse of people were assembled in the streets round the Government House during the entertainment ; but owing to the precautions taken by the stewards in posting guards, &c., no accident of any kind occurred during the course of the night.

" Lord Wellesley," observes Viscount Valentia who was his Lordship's guest on that evening, " wore the orders of St. Patrick and Crescent in diamonds. Many of the European ladies were also richly ornamented with jewels. The black dress of the male Armenians was pleasing from the variety ; and the costly, though unbecoming habits of their females, together with the appearance of officers, nabobs, Persians, and natives, resembled a masquerade. It excelled it in one respect : the characters were well supported, and the costume violated by none." Lord Valentia was received with great hospitality and kindness by the noble Marquess, who appropriated to his Lordship's use a bungalow* at Barrackpore, of which place he gives us the following description :—

" The situation of this house is much more pleasing than anything I have yet seen. It is considerably elevated above the Hoogly river, on a very extended reach of which it stands : on the sides are pagodas, villages, and groves of lofty trees. The water itself is much clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the state barges and cutters of the Governor-General. These, painted green and ornamented with gold, contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, were a great addition to the scene. The park is laid out in

* Bungalow, a thatched house in the Oriental style.

the English style, and the house, at present unfinished, is well adapted to the climate, having a beautiful verandah on every side, and the rooms being on a very ample scale. The place originally belonged to the Commander-in-Chief; but Lord Wellesley took possession of it on being appointed Captain-General, and has improved it with his usual taste. Several of the bungalows have been taken into the park, and are fitted up for the reception of the Secretaries, Aids-de-camp, and visitors."

Lord Wellesley lived in a style of great magnificence* during his residence in the East; and maintained the state and dignity of his office with punctilious care. The pomp and splendour of Oriental customs have passed into a proverb; it is perhaps impossible for any man to reside for a lengthened period in India without, in some measure, conforming to the manners and ideas prevalent in the land of the sun; and it would perhaps be as impolitic as difficult for an Englishman invested with an office to which kings, princes, and governors do homage, to neglect the pride, pomp, and circumstance of those exterior symbols of power and preëminence which Asiatics universally, and almost instinctively, associate with majesty and sovereign authority.

The Marquess Wellesley encouraged and patronised

* "The Governor, as I told you in my overland dispatches, is indeed an ingenious and intelligent man; but every Englishman who resides here very long has, I fear, either his mind emasculated by submission, or corrupted by despotic power. Mr. Duncan may represent *one genus*, the *Braminised* Englishman: Lord W———— is indisputably at the head of the other, the *Sultanised* Englishman."—*Letter of Sir James Mackintosh to Mr. Sharp*, June, 1804, Bombay.

whatever tended to contribute to the enjoyments of the European residents in Calcutta and its vicinity; and frequently mixed in their gaieties and relaxations. Among his Lordship's papers is the following note—the prayer of which, it need scarcely be added, was acceded to :—

FROM LADY RUSSELL TO CAPTAIN MERRICK SHAWE.

"Dear Sir,

"I understand it is very much the wish of the gentlemen who give the party* on Wednesday next, that some mode should be adopted of intimating to Lord Wellesley their desire to be honoured with his presence at the meeting. I do not know whether any invitation has been given, nor can I conjecture what his answer would be, but I hope favourable, and as I have had the honour of being desired to take a part in this business, I cannot help expressing my most earnest wish that his Excellency would honour us with his company if but for an hour. I remain, dear Sir, yours sincerely, Anne Russell."

"Choringhee, Monday Evening,
"March, 1803."

The Asiatic Annual Register gives us the following description of this party, which will afford the reader no unfavourable picture of Anglo-Indian life :—

"The spirit of gaiety, which from the rapid approach of the hot season began to droop, was reanimated by an elegant entertainment, given on Wednesday last

* A Pic-Nic ball.

at the house formerly the Commander-in-Chief's, by the Society of Calcutta Pic-Nics.

"The dinner-party was limited to one hundred persons, comprising all the ladies and gentlemen who were present at, or had been invited to join, a Pic-Nic meeting assembled at Chinsurah on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th ultimo; as a return to which, indeed, this entertainment was principally intended.

"It would be the height of injustice to the gentlemen who officiated as stewards on this occasion to omit stating that, notwithstanding the comparative smallness of the room allotted to the dinner, by the judicious arrangement of the tables and considerate introduction of punkahs, this numerous company was amply and coolly accommodated; and the repast, consisting of every delicacy of the season, served in a style of ease and elegance that reflected the greatest credit on their taste and management. The wines were various and excellent of their kinds.

"After dinner Pic-Nic toasts were given by the president, and done justice to in bumpers by the united members of the Chinsurah Pic-Nics.

"About half-past nine the company increased to near three hundred persons, including most of the principal ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, assembled in the ball-room.

"Here we are again called upon to notice and applaud the taste, contrivance, and activity of the stewards, who, in the short period of a week (the whole interval between the projection and the accomplishment of the entertainments), found means to light and decorate as well this apartment as the whole of a dismantled

house, in a manner not to have been improved by a length of preparation. The front of the house was splendidly illuminated with variegated lamps, as was the whole of the court-yard, on each side of which were placed the words 'PIC-NIC' in large and brilliant characters.

"Shortly afterwards the country-dances commenced with the true pic-nic gaiety and spirit; the effect of the *coup d'œil* being considerably heightened by the irregular interspersion of the lively uniforms in which most of the Pic-Nic ladies and gentlemen were attired, and which gave a novel and almost romantic air to the appearance of the dance in general.

"It had been previously understood that Marquess Wellesley would honour the assembly with his presence: accordingly, about ten o'clock, his Excellency, attended by his Lordship's personal staff, entered the ball-room.

"After the second dance the president and the stewards, followed by the principal gentlemen in the company, approached his Lordship, and in a neat and appropriate address conveyed the high sense entertained of the honour conferred by his Lordship's condescension, and entreating his Excellency's acceptance of two entertainments proposed to be given by the settlement at large in further testimony of their admiration of his Lordship's government and respectful attachment to his person, on the 4th of May and 24th of October. To this request his Excellency was pleased to return a qualified assent in an extemporary answer, of which we regret our inability to give a copy.

"The rooms not being sufficiently spacious to accom-

modate so large a party at supper, tents had been pitched for that purpose to the southward of the house. At about half-past one o'clock the tents were thrown open, and displayed a sumptuous collation, decorated with elegant and ingenious devices, in which due attention was paid to Pic-Nic costume.

"During the repast the band of his Majesty's 22nd regiment executed, with considerable skill, a succession of animated and martial airs.

"Supper concluded, the company returned to the ball-room, where the dances were resumed and continued with unabated spirit and vivacity till three o'clock in the morning :* at that hour the ladies retired, but the gentlemen again resorted to the social board, at which hilarity and harmony presided, and crowned with genuine mirth the festivity of this magnificent and admirably conducted entertainment."

* "On with the dance! let joy be unconfined;
No sleep till morn, when Youth and Pleasure meet
To chase the glowing hours with flying feet."

CHAPTER XI.

Observations on the Diffusion of Christianity.—The College of Fort William an Agent in the Evangelization of Asia.—Obstacles to Truth in India.—Success of the Christian Faith on its first Promulgation.—Bishop Jeremy Taylor quoted. — Coleridge's Panegyric on him.—Christianity in India nearly obliterated by the Mohammedan Conquest and Irruptions of the Mongols.—Native Christians found in India by the Portuguese.—Gibbon's Description of them.—Testimonials of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan to the Utility of Fort William College, in connection with the Spread of the Gospel. — Eight Versions of the Sacred Scriptures translated under Marquess Wellesley's Auspices in the College.—Upwards of One Hundred learned Natives of India, Persia, and Arabia, within its Walls, studying European Literature and Philosophy. — Letter of Mr. Wilberforce to Marquess Wellesley, bearing Testimony to his Lordship's successful Efforts to Educate the Native Mind in India, and asking his Coöperation. — The Governor-General's Success in Suppressing the Sacrifice of Children and other human Victims at Sangor.—Ordains it to be Murder.—Proposes Questions to the Pundits respecting the burning of Widows alive.—Orders a Report to be made of the Numbers burnt in six months within thirty miles of Calcutta.—Details and Description of the horrid Ceremony. — Seventy Thousand Widows burnt in British India, from 1756 to 1829.— Marquess Wellesley checks the Practice, and contemplates its Abolition.—Plans interrupted by his Return to England, and Destruction of Fort William College.—Lord W. Bentinck and Council finally suppress *Suttees*.

The diffusion of the Christian faith, and the deliverance of idolatrous nations from the sanguinary and debasing superstitions which have for so many ages enslaved them, are objects in which every person who desires to extend the light of philosophy and civilization, and who, trusting in the divine energy of his

religion, believes that Christianity is ultimately destined to spread over all lands, "even as the waters cover the sea," must feel the deepest interest. The efforts of a statesman to guard against foreign aggression, disarm internal enemies, and consolidate the power of a mighty empire in a great emergency, demand our admiration ; but his conflicts with the errors of a thousand years, and the evil practices which have flourished for centuries, which no change of circumstances, no efforts of the various conquerors who had exercised sway over the countries under his rule, had been able to eradicate or modify, are still more dignified in their character, and enduring in their consequences. We have already alluded to the influence of Fort William College as a means of diffusing science and sound learning in Asia—

> "Her angel's face
> As the great eye of Heaven shyned bright,
> And made a sun shine in the shady place!"

We shall see that it was also a most important agent in furthering the evangelization of India, and promoting Lord Wellesley's wise and humane endeavours to suppress the foul and cruel customs of the Hindoo population. When we reflect on the numerous obstacles which in our own day we see opposed to the progress of moral and divine truth, and observe the tenacity with which the heathen cling to their delusions, our astonishment must be excited at the success which attended the first promulgation of christianity : "But now," observes Bishop Jeremy Taylor,* "it is no new

* I have often been surprised that Jeremy Taylor's tract, from which I have quoted, has not been more widely diffused. It is entitled a

wonder, but a pursuance of the same conjugation of great and divine things, that the fame and religion of Jesus was with so incredible a swiftness scattered over the face of the habitable world, from one end of the earth unto the other. It filled all Asia immediately. It passed presently to Europe, and to the furthest Africans. And all the way it went it told nothing but an holy and an humble story, that He who came to bring it into the world died an ignominious death. And yet this death did not take away from their courage, but added much : for they could not fear death for the Master whom they knew to have, for their sakes, suffered death, and come to life again. But now infinite numbers of persons of all sexes and ages, and all countries, came in to the holy crucifix. And he that was crucified in the reign of Tiberius, was, in the time of Nero, even in Rome itself, and in Nero's family, by many persons esteemed as a god. And it was upon public record that he was so acknowledged. And this was by a Christian, Justin Martyr, urged to the senate and the emperors themselves ; who, if it had been otherwise, could easily have confuted the bold allegation of the Christian, who yet did die for that Jesus who was so speedily reputed for God. The cross was worn upon the breast, drawn upon foreheads, carried on banners, put upon crowns imperial. And

" Moral Demonstration that the Religion of Christ is from God," and occurs in the Ductor Dubitantium. It fully warrants Coleridge's description of Jeremy Taylor's style :—" Whether supporting or assailing he makes his way, either by argument or by appeals to the affections, unsurpassed even by the schoolmen in subtlety, agility, and logic wit, and unrivalled by the most rhetorical of the fathers in the copiousness and vividness of his expressions and illustrations."

yet Christians were sought for to punishments, and exquisite punishments sought for them. Their goods were confiscated, their names odious; prisons were their houses; and so many kinds of tortures invented for them, that Domitius Ulpianus hath spent seven books in describing the variety of tortures the poor Christian was put to at his first appearing. And yet, in despite of all this, and ten thousand other objections and impossibilities, whatsoever was for them made the religion grow, and whatsoever was against them, made it grow. If they had peace, the religion was prosperous; if they had persecution, it was still prosperous. If princes favoured them, the world came in because the Christian lived holily. If princes were incensed, the world came in because the Christians died bravely. They sought for death with greediness; they desired to be grinded in the teeth of lions; and with joy they beheld the wheels and the bended trees, the racks and the gibbets, the fires and the burning irons, which were like the chariot of Elias to them, instruments to carry them to Heaven. Who would not acknowledge the divinity of the Person, and the excellency of this institution, that should see infants to weary the hands of hangmen for the testimony of Jesus? and wise men preach this doctrine for no other visible reward but shame and death, poverty and banishment? Could a few fishermen and a publican effect all this for the son of a poor maiden of Judea? Can we suppose all the world, or so great a part of mankind, can consent by chance, or suffer such changes for nothing or for anything less than this? The son of a poor maiden was the Son of God. And the fishermen spake by a divine

spirit. And they catched the world with holiness, and miracles, and wisdom, and power, bigger than the strength of all the Roman legions."

The conquest of India by the Mohammedans, A. D. 997, and the irruptions of the Tartars and Mongols nearly obliterated the Christian name in India; but upon the arrival of Vasca de Gama, A. D. 1498, he still found there not a few who adored the author of the Christian faith :—

The following interesting description of the native Christians of India is given by Gibbon in his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. xlviii. According to the legend of antiquity, the gospel was preached in India by St. Thomas. At the end of the ninth century, his shrine, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Madras, was devoutly visited by the ambassadors of Alfred, and their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch, who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery. When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar, and the difference of their character and colour attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms, in arts, and possibly in virtue, they excelled the natives of Hindostan : the husbandmen cultivated the palm-tree, the merchants were enriched by the pepper trade, the soldiers preceded the *nairs*, or nobles of Malabar, and their hereditary privileges were respected by the gratitude or fear of the King of Cochin and the Zamorin himself. They acknowledged a Gentoo sovereign, but they were governed, even in temporal concerns, by the Bishop of

Angamala. He still asserted his ancient title of Metropolitan of India, but his real jurisdiction was exercised in fourteen hundred churches, and he was intrusted with the care of two hundred thousand souls. Their religion would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese, but the inquisitors soon discovered in the Christians of St. Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman pontiff, the spiritual and temporal monarch of the globe, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained at Mosul traversed the dangers of the sea and land to reach their diocese on the coast of Malabar. Their separation from the western world had left them in ignorance of the improvements or corruptions of a thousand years; and their conformity with the faith and practice of the fifth century, would equally disappoint the prejudice of a Papist or a Protestant. It was the first care of the ministers of Rome to intercept all correspondence with the Nestorian patriarch, and several of his bishops expired in the prisons of the holy office. The flock, without a shepherd, was assaulted by the power of the Portuguese, the arts of the Jesuits, and the zeal of Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in his personal visitation of the coast of Malabar. The synod of Diamper, at which he presided, consummated the pious work of the reunion, and rigorously imposed the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Church, without forgetting auricular confession, the strongest engine of ecclesiastical torture. The memory of Theodore and Nesto-

rius was condemned, and Malabar was reduced under the dominion of the Pope, of the primate, and of the Jesuits who invaded the see of Angamala or Cranganor. Sixty years of servitude and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but as soon as the Portuguese empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted with vigour and effect the religion of their fathers. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of Holland and England are the friends of toleration, but if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the Christians of St. Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe." *

"Many circumstances," observes the Rev. Claudius, writing in 1805, "concur to make it probable that the light of revelation is now dawning on the Asiatic world. Under the auspices of the College of Fort William the Scriptures are in course of translation into the languages of almost the 'whole continent of Oriental India.' Could the royal patron † of the Talmul Bible, who prayed that 'the work might not fail in generations to come,' have foreseen those streams of revealed truth which are now issuing from this fountain, with what delight would he have hailed the present era of Indian administration. In this veiw the Oriental College has been compared by one of our

* For an interesting account of the native Christians on the Malabar coast, *vide* "Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia," and "Bishop Heber's Journal."

† King George I.

Hindoo poets to a 'flood of light shooting through a dark cloud on a benighted land.' Directed by it, *the learned natives from every quarter of India, and from the parts beyond Persia and Arabia,* come to the source of knowledge: they mark our principles, ponder the volume of inspiration, 'and hear every man in his own tongue the wonderful works of God.'"

In a letter written from the College of Fort William, Calcutta, in March of the same year, addressed by Mr. Buchanan to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, that gentleman gives the following account of the benefits arising from the College:—

"New sources of information on all Oriental subjects have been opened by the College of Fort William in Bengal. Those persons who have held official situations in that institution during the last four years, have had constant opportunities of observing the conduct, and of learning the opinions, of the most intelligent natives. There are attached to the College at this time *upwards of one hundred learned men, who have arrived from different parts of India, Persia, and Arabia.* In such an assemblage the manners and customs of remote regions are distinctly described; and their varying sentiments, religious and political, may be accurately investigated and compared. Of the learned Hindoos who have been employed as teachers, there were two lately from the Deccan who profess the Christian faith, and comport themselves according to Christian manners. Two Protestant missionaries have also been attached to the institution; one of whom*

* Dr. Carey.

is lecturer in the Bengalee and Shanscrit languages, and has been for many years employed in preaching the Bengalee language to the natives in the north of Hindostan. The other is a teacher of the Talmul, or Malabar language; and has been long attached to a mission in the south of the peninsula. More desirable means of obtaining accurate and original intelligence could not have been presented to any one who wished to investigate the state of the natives of India, with a view to their moral and religious improvement. In the presence of the learned body of Asiatics assembled at the College of Fort William, the Christian Scriptures have been exhibited for translation into the Oriental tongues. Under the auspices of the Marquess Wellesley, who by favour of Providence now presides in India, a version of the Holy Scriptures may be expected, not in one language alone, but in seven of the Oriental tongues,—in the Hindostanee, Persian, Chinese and Malay, Orissa, Mahratta, and Bengalese; of which the four former are the primary and popular languages of the continent and isles of Asia. In the centre of the Pagan world, and at the chief seat of superstition and idolatry, these works are carried on, and the unconverted natives assist in the translations. The whole library of Shanscrit learning is accessible to the members of the College of Fort William. The old keepers of this library, the Pundits, who would give no access to the translator of the Gentoo code, or to the then Governor-General of India, now vie with each other in giving every information in their power." *

* "From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand,

Charles Grant, Esq., afterwards Lord Glenelg, writing from Sussex to Lord Wellesley, September 14th 1801, says—"No accounts from the East have afforded me so much pleasure as those of the countenance your Lordship has given to religion. If you had seen fit to recommend the diffusion of it among the heathen, no one could have done this with so much effect; and though now diversities of opinion on some other Indian subjects, and consequent divisions unhappily prevail, yet in the true glory of espousing such an object all the best judgments of the present and future times I am convinced would be agreed."

The annexed letter from Mr. Wilberforce, written in 1813, confirms the facts enforced by Mr. Buchanan, and affords a proof of the continued anxiety of the Marquess Wellesley to aid the cause of Christian truth in Hindostan :—

Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand:
From many an ancient river,
From many a balmy plain,
They call us to deliver,
Their land from Error's chain.

What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's Isle,
Though every prospect pleases
And only man is vile;
In vain with lavish kindness
The gifts of God are shown,
The heathen in their blindness
Bow down to wood and stone."

MR. WILBERFORCE TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(Private.)

" No. 1, Poet's Corner, Tuesday, 6, 1813.

" My dear Lord W.,

" Notwithstanding your obliging permission to me to break in upon you to day, intimated to me last night by Mr. Wellesley, yet knowing that just now your time and mind must be so fully occupied, it must naturally arise rather from your friendly disposition to comply with my request than by your own desire, I have resolved not to intrude on your Lordship in person; but merely to send you a few lines, which cannot, like a conversation, draw on into a length that was unintended. That I may trespass on you as shortly as possible, I will confine myself to what requires immediate mention, and is, indeed, indispensable.

" I know not whether your Lordship has heard of the unreasonable clamour that has been raised by the Anglo-Indians in the House of Commons, against all, even the most prudent, attempts to convert the natives of India; and more especially against missionaries. Now let me hope, a hope which I share with, I am glad to say, a considerable number of men in the House of Commons, and with many more out of it, that your Lordship will to-morrow use your just authority in putting to flight these vain fears. The rather because the alarmists are enemies of the *system which your Lordship certainly established, and which I trust you will confirm and revive, that I mean of diffusing useful knowledge of all sorts among the natives of India; and I confess for my own part that I have always held and still retain the opinion that education, the trans-*

lation and diffusion of the Scriptures and advancement in general knowledge, would be far the most powerful agents in the great work of Christianizing the natives of India. Your weight, thrown into the right scale, will make it preponderate.

"I will only add, that your Lordship can scarcely conceive (if I may judge of the House of Lords from the general condition of the members of the House of Commons) how ignorant your *Lordships* in general are likely to be respecting India, and therefore how little they are qualified to ask questions in committee. When your Lordship can attend, I hope you will now and then look in, and there also prevent the examination from being rendered the excuse for condemning the population of India to ignorance and darkness so long as they continue under British rule. I remember my assurance. I break off, assuring your Lordship that I am, my dear Lord W., your Lordship's very sincerely,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

The Marquess Wellesley cautiously, but steadily, proceeded to suppress some of the enormities of Hindoo superstition. It had been the custom from time immemorial to immolate at the island of Sangor, and at other places reputed holy on the banks of the Ganges, human victims by drowning or destruction by sharks. Another horrid practice accompanied it, which was the sacrifice of the first-born child of a woman who had long been barren. Lord Wellesley called upon the Pundits and chief Bramins of the college Fort William to declare by what sanction in their Shasters,* these un-

* Sacred books of the Hindoos.

natural cruelties were committed. They alleged no sanction but *custom*, and what they termed "the barbarous ignorance of the low castes." The Governor-General immediately issued the following order, which, contrary to the expectations of some, excited no commotion and was readily acquiesced in :—

"A regulation for preventing the sacrifice of children at Sangor and other places : passed by the Governor-General in council, on the 20th of August, 1802. It has been represented to the Governor-General in council that a criminal and inhuman practice of sacrificing children, by exposing them to be drowned or devoured by sharks, prevails at the island of Sangor and at Bansbaryah, Chaugdah, and other places on the Ganges. At Sangor especially such sacrifices have been made at fixed periods, namely,—the day of full moon in November and January ; at which time also grown persons have devoted themselves to a similar death. Children thrown into the sea at Sangor have not been generally rescued, as is stated to be the custom at other places ; but the sacrifice has, on the contrary, been effected with circumstances of peculiar atrocity in some instances. This practice, which is represented to arise from superstitious vows, is not sanctioned by the Hindoo law, nor countenanced by the religious orders, or by the people at large ; nor was it at any time authorised by the Hindoo or Mohammedan government of India. The persons concerned in the perpetration of such crimes are therefore easily liable to punishment, and the plea of custom would be inadmissible in excuse of the offence; but for the more effectual prevention of so inhuman a practice, the Governor-General in council has

enacted the following regulation to be in force from the promulgation of it in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares."

The regulation declared the practice to be murder, punishable with death.*

Lord Wellesley also directed an investigation into the frightful custom of women burning themselves on the death of their husbands. The Pundits were called upon to produce the sanction of their Shasters in support of these cruel sacrifices. They alleged *custom*, which unhappily was in favour up to the time of Alexander the Great; but the passages on which the Pundits relied were vague and general in their meaning; and were differently interpreted by the same castes. Some sacred verses commended the practice, but none were found to command it. Lord Wellesley authorised an official investigation into the subject; with which, in consequence of the inveterate prejudices of the natives, it was necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection, delicacy, and prudence. The Rev. Claudius Buchanan writing in March 1805, says, "The civilized world may expect soon to hear of the *abolition* of this opprobrium of a Christian administration—the female sacrifice."—At that period the number of women who annually sacrificed themselves in the district thirty miles round Calcutta, averaged upwards of two hundred. The extent of this demoniacal custom is demonstrated in the following official document:—

* At the Hindoo festival, in 1801, twenty-three persons sacrificed themselves, or were sacrificed by others, in the island of Sangor.

Report of the Number of Women who have burned themselves on the Funeral Pile of their Husbands within thirty miles round Calcutta, from the 15th of April to the 15th of October, 1804.

From Gurria to Barrypore.

Bhurut Bazar	1
Rajepore	2
Mulunchа	2
Barrypore	1
Maeenugur	1
Lasun	1
Kesubpore	2
Mahamaya	3
Puschim Bahine	1
Bural	3
Dhopa Gach, hi	1

From Tolley's Nulla Mouth to Gurria.

Mouth of Tolley's Nulla	6
Kooli Bazar	1
Kidderpore Bridge	1
Jeerat Bridge	2
Near the Hospital	1
Watson's Ghat	1
Bhobancepore	2
Kalee Ghat	6
Tolley Gunge	2
Naktulla	1
Byshnub Ghat	2
Etal Ghat	2
Russapagli	1
Koot Ghat	2
Gurria	1
Bassdhuni	2
Dadpore and near it	3

From Bareypore to Buhipore.

Joynagur	2
Moosilpore	1
Bishnoopoor	3
Balia	1
Gunga Dwar	1
Gochurun Ghat	2
Telia	1

From Seebpore to Baleea.

Khooter Saer	1
Sulkea	3
Ghoosri Ghokey Ghat	2
Balee	3
Seebpore	1

From Balee to Bydyabatee.

Serampore	1
Bydyabatee	1
Dhou-Nagur	1

From Bydyabatee to Bassbarea.

Chundun-Nagur	3
Chinshurah	2
Saha Gunge	2
Bassbarrea	2
Bhudreshwur	1

From Calcutta to Burahnugur.

Soorer Bazar	2
Burahnugur	2
Kashipore	1
Chitpore	1

From Burahnagur to Chanok.

Dukhineshwar	2
Agurpara	4
Areeadoha	3
Chauuk	1

Sookchur	1	Kachrapara	3
Khurdoh and near it	2	Bhatpara	1
From Chanok to Kachrapara.		Total widows immolated in six months within 30 miles of Calcutta	116
Eshapore	2		
Koomorhatta	2		

This report was made by ten Hindoos employed for the purpose; they were stationed at different places during the whole period of the six months. They gave into the government their accounts monthly, specifying the name and place; and every individual instance was subject to investigation immediately after its occurrence. By an account taken in 1803, the number of women sacrificed during the year, within thirty miles round Calcutta, was two hundred and seventy-five. The average number in that district was twenty in a month! One of the widows enumerated above was a girl of eleven years of age.

In the province of Orissa, it was the custom when the wife of a man of rank burned that all his concubines were obliged to burn with her. In the event of their refusal they were dragged forcibly to the place and pushed with bamboos into the flames. The self-sacrifice by Indian women is noticed by the Greek writers three hundred years before the birth of Christ, and it is alluded to with approbation by Cicero. The ceremonies observed at *Suttees** are nearly the same in every part of Asia.

The husband is directed by the physician, when there are no hopes of his recovery, to be carried to the

* *Suttee*, or, according to Shanscrit scholars, more properly *Satî*, means primarily a good and chaste wife; but it is ordinarily used to designate one who burns herself on her husband's funeral pile.

river side, and the wife then breaks a small branch from the mango-tree, takes it with her, and proceeds to the body, where she sits down. The barber paints the sides of her feet red; after which she bathes, and puts on new clothes. During these preparations the drum beats a certain sound, by which it is known that a widow is about to be burnt with the corpse of her husband. On hearing this, all the village assembles. The son, or, if there be no son, a relation, or the head man of the village, provides the articles necessary for the ceremony. A hole is dug in the ground, round which stakes are driven into the earth, and thick green stakes laid across to form a kind of bed, upon which are laid abundance of dry faggots, hemp, clarified butter, and other combustibles. The widow now presents her ornaments to her friends, ties some red cotton on both wrists, puts two new combs in her hair, paints her forehead, and puts some parched rice and cowries into the end of the cloth which she wears. While this is going forward the dead body is anointed with clarified butter and bathed, prayers are repeated over it, and it is dressed in new clothes. Ropes and another piece of cloth are spread upon the pile. The widow walks seven times round the funeral pile, strewing parched rice and cowries, and then she ascends the pile, or rather throws herself upon it.

The following is an account of a Suttee by an eye-witness :*—"News of the widow's intentions having spread, a great concourse of people of both sexes, the women clad in their gala costumes, assembled round the pyre. In a short time after their arrival the fated

* Mrs. Postans, the author of "Cutch," on Random Sketches, &c.

victim appeared, accompanied by the Brahmins, her relations, and the body of the deceased. The spectators showered chaplets of mogree on her head, and greeted her appearance with laudatory exclamations at her constancy and virtue. The women especially pressed forward to touch her garments—an act which is considered meritorious, and highly desirable for absolution and protection from the 'evil eye.' The widow was a remarkably handsome woman, apparently about thirty, and most superbly attired. Her manner was marked by great apathy to all around her, and by a complete indifference to the preparations which for the first time met her eye. From this circumstance an impression was given that she might be under the influence of opium; and in conformity with the declared intention of the European officers present to interfere should any coercive measures be adopted by the Brahmins or relatives, two medical officers were requested to give their opinion on the subject. They both agreed that she was quite free from any influence calculated to induce torpor or intoxication. Captain Burnes then addressed the woman, desiring to know whether the act she was about to perform were voluntary or enforced, and assuring her that, should she entertain the slightest reluctance to the fulfilment of her vow, he, on the part of the British Government, would guarantee the protection of her life and property. Her answer was calm, heroic, and constant to her purpose: 'I die of my own free will; give me back my husband, and I will consent to live; if I die not with him, the souls of seven husbands will condemn me!'

"Ere the renewal of the horrid ceremonies of death

were permitted again, the voice of mercy, of expostulation, and even of entreaty, was heard; but the trial was vain, and the cool and collected manner with which the woman still declared her determination unalterable, chilled and startled the most courageous. Physical pangs evidently excited no fears in her; her singular creed, the customs of her country, and her sense of conjugal duty, excluded from her mind the natural emotions of personal dread; and never did martyr to a true cause go to the stake with more constancy and firmness, than did this delicate and gentle woman prepare to become the victim of a deliberate sacrifice to the demoniacal tenets of her heathen creed. Accompanied by the officiating Brahmin, the widow walked seven times round the pyre, repeating the usual *mantras*, or prayers, strewing rice and cowries on the ground, and sprinkling water from her hand over the bystanders, who believe this to be efficacious in preventing disease, and in expiating committed sins. She then removed her jewels, and presented them to her relations, saying a few words to each with a calm soft smile of encouragement and hope. The Brahmins then presented her with a lighted torch, bearing which,

> "Fresh as a flower just blown,
> And warm with life her youthful pulses playing,"

she stepped through the fatal door, and sat within the pile. The body of her husband, wrapped in rich kinkaub, was then carried seven times round the pile, and finally laid across her knees. Thorns and grass were piled over the door; and again it was insisted that free space should be left, as it was hoped the poor vic-

tim might yet relent, and rush from her fiery prison to the protection so freely offered. The command was readily obeyed; the strength of a child would have sufficed to burst the frail barrier which confined her, and a breathless pause succeeded; but the woman's constancy was faithful to the last. Not a sigh broke the death-like silence of the crowd, until a light smoke curling from the summit of the pyre, and then a tongue of flame darting with bright and lightning-like rapidity into the clear blue sky, told us that the sacrifice was completed. Fearlessly had this courageous woman fired the pile, and not a groan had betrayed to us the moment when her spirit fled. At sight of the flame a fiendish shout of exultation rent the air; the tom-toms sounded, the people clapped their hands with delight as the evidence of their murderous work burst on their view, whilst the English spectators of this sad scene withdrew, bearing deep compassion in their hearts, to philosophize, as best they might, on a custom so fraught with horror, so incompatible with reason, and so revolting to human sympathy. The pile continued to burn for three hours; but from its form, it is supposed that almost immediate suffocation must have terminated the sufferings of the unhappy victim."

It is calculated that, from the year 1756 to 1829, no less than 70,000 widows were immolated by fire within the British dominions in India!

Lord Wellesley's return to Europe, and the breaking up of the College of Fort William, interrupted his Lordship's plans with reference to the Hindoo widows. For many years the British Government could do no

more than prevent the forcible burning of women at the funeral pile of their husbands ; and the honour of totally suppressing *Suttees* is to be ascribed to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India in 1829, and council, consisting of Lord Combermere, W. B. Bailey, Esq., and C. T. Metcalfe, Esq. ; one of whom, it deserves to be remarked, began his honourable and useful career in the College of Fort William, under the immediate auspices of its most noble founder.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Wellesley tenders the Resignation of the Office of Governor-General, January, 1802, and in October, 1802, and again in 1803.—Is requested by his Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors to remain in India till the Settlement of the Affairs of the Mahratta States.—Consents to remain.—Dissatisfaction at the Conduct of the Directors.—Note, Censures on the Directors of 1802-5 not directed against the Company as a Corporation.—The East India Company now the Vindicators of Lord Wellesley's Fame. — Honourable Conduct of the present and late Directors in repairing the Injustice of their Predecessors.—The Mahratta War. — Military Triumphs at Delhi, Laswaree, Assaye, and Arghaum. — Stuart, Gen. Wellesley, Lake. — Sketch of the Political Considerations which induced the Marquess Wellesley to direct Hostilities —Scindiah the Peishwah, Holkar, &c., Plenary Powers entrusted to General Wellesley and General Stuart. —Treaty of Bassein.—Destruction of the French Force of Scindiah, amounting to 16,000 men, under General Perron.—The Power of Holkar broken.—Private Letter from Colonel M. Symes, from London, to Marquess Wellesley, on the State of Parties and the Conduct of the Government respecting the Mahratta War.—Letters from Marquess Wellesley with reference to Lord Clive, Hon. H. Wellesley, &c.

In a letter dated January the 1st, 1802, written from Cawnpore to the Court of Directors, Lord Wellesley, after alluding to the settlement of Oude, tenders his resignation of the high office which he held, in the following terms: "Under all these circumstances, it appears to me, that I may now resign into your hands the trust which I received from your honourable Court in the month of October, 1797, without incurring the hazard of injury to your service in India, or of any in-

convenience in the selection of my successor at home.

"My dispatches of the 28th of September, 1801, will have afforded an opportunity to your honourable Court of nominating a provisional successor, to hold the temporary charge of this government in the event of my death, absence, or resignation; and this letter must reach you in sufficient time to enable you to appoint my permanent successor, at a season which will admit of his arrival in India in the month of January, or February, 1803.

"I therefore have the honour to submit to your honourable Court this respectful notification of my wish to embark for Europe in the course of the month of December, 1802, or of January, 1803, and to resign the Government-General of your possessions in India at the time of my embarkation.

"I request that your honourable Court will be pleased to employ every possible precaution, with a view to enable me to receive, during the course of the month of October, 1802, your formal and regular permission to proceed to Europe, and to resign your service at the time stated in this letter."

In a letter dated March 13th, 1802, his Lordship renews his application for permission to resign the service of the Honourable Company in the month of January, 1803. At the urgent request of the Home Government, and the Court of Directors, his Lordship was induced to withdraw his resignation; and having again expressed his desire to return to Europe in 1803, was solicited to remain till the affairs of the Mahratta states were restored to a state of tranquil-

lity and security. The Marquess Wellesley consented to remain at his post till those objects were secured, although he felt the deepest mortification at the ungenerous conduct of the Court of Directors in the case of Fort William College, the private trade of India, and the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley as Lieutenant-Governor of Oude; and had reason to complain that many of his most matured plans were thwarted by the little animosities, and bitter hostility of a section of the East India Company.*

The Mahratta war, both as well on account of the splendid achievements of the British arms and the important political results with which it was attended, has attracted universal attention in Europe. The bloody fields of "Delhi," "Laswaree," "Assaye," and "Arghaum" are imperishably associated with the military renown of England; the lustre of the memorable triumphs achieved by the bravery of the soldiers led by Stuart, Lake, and General Wellesley, has not suffered by comparison with the struggles and glories of the Peninsular campaigns. The military operations of the Mahratta war have been amply illustrated in a variety of forms.* The political measures of the Governor-General in which it originated, have been tried in the fiery crucible of public debate for some years, and though their author may have felt the fierceness

* The reader is requested not to apply any of the censures directed in these volumes against individual members of this corporation in 1802-5, to the East India Company as an institution, or to the present or any late Court of Directors,—who have been among the most foremost in repairing the injustice of their predecessors, and doing honour to the statesman who saved their empire.—*Vide* Appendix, vol. iii.

* *Vide* Wellington Dispatches.

of the flame and the scorchings of the furnace, they have endured the *test*. The matured opinion and deliberate verdict of the country is in favour of the policy of the Mahratta war. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than present to the reader a sketch of the events and motives which guided the judgment of the Marquess Wellesley in directing the military operations against the Mahratta states, from the pen of an officer who enjoyed the confidence of his Lordship during his administration in India ; adding some documents from original MSS. which have not hitherto been published :—

"In the beginning of the year 1801 the occurrence of war between Jeswunt Row Holkar and Scindiah had forced the latter to move from Poonah ; and the distraction which this event had created among the Mahratta states appeared to Lord Wellesley to constitute a most favourable crisis for effecting the complete establishment of the British interests at the court of Poonah. This he desired to do upon a basis that, while it secured the stability and efficiency of the Peishwah's authority, interfered with none of the real rights or possessions of the great feudatories in the Mahratta states ; and, consequently, could only be opposed by them on the grounds of its defeating their plans of encroachment and aggrandizement, which it had become the imperious policy of the British Government to check, as their prosecution was altogether incompatible with the maintenance of that system which it had been compelled to adopt for its own safety and that of its allies.

"The Peishwah had himself made a general proposition for entering into a defensive alliance with the British Government; but the nature of the conditions of the treaty which he proposed, and the actual state of his power, made the Governor-General deem it advisable to reject his proposition; which he thought was merely calculated to give the Peishwah the assistance of the British power to reëstablish and support his personal authority, without admitting it to the exercise of that influence which it appeared necessary the English Government should possess, in order to maintain its own security and that of its allies.

"Before June 1802, the date on which Lord Wellesley received the negotiations at Poonah, accounts had been received of the peace of Amiens. The scene was consequently open to French intrigue; and if Scindiah regained, by the defeat of Holkar, an event then probable, the complete ascendancy over the Peishwah, and the entire control of the Mahratta empire, from the banks of the Ganges to the sea of Malabar, there could not be a doubt in the mind of any man in the least degree acquainted with the constitution of the army of that chief, and the influence and authority of the French officers by whom it was then commanded, that the French nation might, in a very few years, without violating one article of the treaty of peace, have aided him to the consolidation of a military power, which would have struck at the very existence of the British Government in India. It did not appear likely that the execution of such a plan would meet with any serious obstacle in the jealousy of Scindiah, who had become familiar with the system which it was the

policy of the French to pursue. To it both his predecessor and himself had owed their power ; and he was consequently disposed to pursue it.

"The territories of the Peishwah had been the scene of continual conflict, from the death of Madhoo Row ; and were not able, in their exhausted state, to support, even for a few months, the hordes of banditti which were daily pouring in from Malwah and Hindostan, to contend at Poonah for the sovereignty of the Mahratta empire. This fact made it evident that if the armies of Scindiah, Holkar, and Ragojee Bhonslah were permitted to make the provinces of the Poonah state their theatre of warfare, the armies of these chiefs must be early forced by want, if not invited by policy, to invade the territories of the British Government or its allies : and this circumstance formed in itself a strong proof, not merely of the expediency, but of the necessity, of the measures pursued on this occasion by Lord Wellesley.

"In the contest which took place in 1802 between Doulut Row Scindiah and Holkar, the Peishwah joined with the former, whose force at Poonah sustained a signal defeat near that city on the 25th of October. Badjerow, who had moved out of his capital before the action commenced, immediately fled towards the sea-coast, having previously sent his minister to Colonel Close, the British Resident, with a writing, sealed with his own seal, containing his consent to receive a subsidiary force, and to cede, for their subsistence, territory, either in Guzerat or in his southern territories, producing an annual revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The minister, at the same time that he made

this proposition, assured the Resident, in the most positive manner, that it was the intention of his master to conclude a defensive alliance with the Honourable Company, on the basis of the treaty of Hyderabad.

"The Governor-General confirmed the preliminary engagement, which the Peishwah had offered to his acceptance, as soon as he received it; and desired that prince should be informed that all the resources of the British Government should be employed for the re-establishment of his authority. The Resident was also directed to give to the preliminaries the form of a defensive treaty, and to obtain the Peishwah's consent to such articles as were necessary to give the British Government all those advantages which it expected from this alliance.

"The Peishwah, when near the sea-coast, demanded the aid of a vessel, and eventual protection, from the Government of Bombay, which was complied with; and as Jeswunt Row Holkar continued at Poonah, he lost all hopes of being able to return to that city, and embarked on board the *Herculean*, an English vessel sent for his accommodation, and proceeded to Bassein, where he arrived on the 16th of December. He was joined at that place by the British Resident; and, after a short negotiation, a definitive treaty of defensive alliance was concluded on the 31st of December, and ratified by the Governor-General in council on the 28th day of January 1803, the date on which it reached Calcutta.

"By this treaty the English Government bound itself to furnish to the Peishwah a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry, with a complement of

field-pieces and European artillerymen : for the payment of which force the Peishwah agreed to make over territory to an amount of twenty-six lacs of rupees. All claims of the Peishwah and his family on Surat, and the districts under the English Government in Guzerat,* were finally adjusted ; and that prince agreed to abide by the arbitration of the Company in all his unsettled disputes with the Soubahdar of the Deccan ; and in the adjustment of some unsettled accounts with the family of the Guickwar in Guzerat, whose previous engagements with the Company he fully recognised. The Peishwah also engaged to discharge any Europeans from his service that belonged to nations hostile to the English, or were discovered meditating injury, or carrying on intrigues injurious to the interests of that nation.

" Such were the principal conditions of this treaty.† It will be next necessary to state the measures that were adopted to facilitate its complete execution, and to secure to the British Government all those advantages that were expected from this important measure.

" The army of Fort Saint George, under the command of General Stuart, had advanced to the bank of the Toombuddra, to support this treaty, which included the restoration of the Peishwah to his throne at Poonah.

* Guzerat was part of the Mahratta empire; of which it was a *jaghire* (*i. e.* a territory granted by a sovereign prince to a subject), under the Guickwar, a title given to the chief holding Guzerat. The capital was Baroda.

† This celebrated treaty gave rise to a great deal of discussion. Viscount Castlereagh drew up a memorandum on the treaty, which was elaborately answered by General Wellesley. — *Vide* Wellington Dispatches.

General Wellesley was detached in front, with a select corps, to effect this object: and advancing in coöperation with the subsidiary force in the Deccan, commanded by Colonel Stevenson, through the southern parts of the Peishwah's territories, he reached Poonah on the 20th of April. The troops of Holkar fled at his approach; and Badjerow, who had left Bassein when he learnt that the British forces were coming to his aid, entered Poonah; and was reseated on his musnud, in that capital, on the 13th of May.

"This great measure was effected without any opposition: and all the principal southern Mahratta Jagheerdars (who are considered as the more immediate feudatories and dependents of the Peishwah) gave, by their actions as well as expressions, a full assent to this connexion. Appah Saheb, the son of Purseram Bhow, his brother Chumajee Goklah Appah Depaye, and several others, joined their troops to those of General Wellesley, and advanced with him to the capital of the Mahratta empire, where they paid their obeisance to the Peishwah, whose Court several of them had not visited for many years before. The first fruits of the alliance, which were, the flight of Holkar, and the cheerful and dutiful obedience of some of his chief feudatories, gave great satisfaction to the Peishwah, and afforded to the English Government a momentary hope, that this great measure of policy would be effected without a war. These hopes were, however, early disappointed by the advance of Doulut Row Scindiah and the Bhoonslah towards the frontier of our ally the Nizam; and the delays and evasions with which these chiefs treated the different propositions offered to their

consideration by Colonel Collins, the British Resident at the court of Scindiah.

" Doulut Row Scindiah had, after several communications with the Resident, acknowledged, that he could have no right, from his being guarantee to the treaty of Salbye, (the ground of objection he had first taken,) to oppose any treaty between the British Government and the Peishwah; and after admitting that his interest had been advanced by the expulsion of Jeswunt Row Holkar from Poonah, and the reëstablishment of Badjerow, he declared in explicit terms, that he had no intention to impede the performance of the arrangements lately concluded between the Peishwah and the British Government; but that he should, on the contrary, desire to perfect the amity which then existed between the Peishwah, the British Government, and his own states.

" Five days after this declaration, Scindiah's Ministers remonstrated with the Resident against the advance of the British troops to Poonah; which, however, they were informed could not be prevented, as it was a condition of the engagement into which we had entered with the Peishwah; and of which they were reminded, Scindiah had expressed his full approbation.

" About the period at which the Resident reached Scindiah's camp at Boorhanpore (February 27th), he received secret information of a league between the principal Mahratta chiefs, with objects hostile to the British Government, being in agitation; and the advance of the army of the Rajah of Berar to join Scindiah, combined with the active negotiations which the latter chief carried on with Holkar, gave some credi-

bility to this information. But there appeared, on the other hand, when the nature of their respective Governments was considered, every cause to doubt their power of combination ; and it was quite evident, that if such a league was even formed, their rooted animosities and clashing interests would prevent its being attended with any serious danger.

" Scindiah had, in fact, no objection to the interference of the British Government for the restoration of the power of the Peishwah, as long as he saw a prospect of that being usurped by Jeswunt Row Holkar ; and he thought that, by acting in aid of this project, he should come into the chief direction of the affairs of the empire, and be enabled to destroy his rival, who had, from his success at Poonah, obtained great power and reputation : but the moment he found that the British Government had, by its energy and the great celerity of its operations, obliged Holkar to fly, and established the Peishwah at Poonah without his aid, his plans changed ; and he resolved to oppose the treaty, to which he had given at one period, the most unqualified assent.

" To effect this, his first object was to reach Poonah. But as his presence at that capital could have no effect but that of disturbing, if it did not altogether annul, the recent engagements concluded with the Peishwah, the Governor-General determined on not permitting it ; and he directed the Resident at his court to insist upon Scindiah either retreating from the threatening position he then occupied upon the Nizam's frontier, across the Nerbuddah ; or that he should give some unequivocal proof of his intention, in nowise to seek to de-

range the engagements concluded between the British Government and the Peishwah.

"As, however, there were grounds of apprehension, that Scindiah would not relinquish his schemes without a contest, orders were at the same time given to Major General Wellesley to be prepared to act; and that officer, with a view of eventually coöperating with the subsidiary force in the Nizam's territories, advanced a few marches to the northward of Poonah, where he established a constant, and almost daily, intercourse with the British Resident in Doulut Row Scindiah's camp.

"The Resident, at an interview with that chief on the 27th of May, communicated the treaty of Bassein; and, after a careful perusal of every article, Scindiah and his minister declared, that it contained nothing in the slightest degree injurious to his legitimate authority. But though he made this declaration, he would not explain to the Resident what were his intentions; and on being much pressed at this conference for an explanation, Scindiah broke it up with saying; 'After my interview with the Rajah of Berar, you shall be informed whether we will have war or peace.'

"This extraordinary menace, which placed the question of war or peace, between the English Government and Doulut Row Scindiah, upon the result of a conference with the Rajah of Berar, and which was in itself, a direct insult to the former State, lessened those hopes that had been entertained of an amicable termination to this negotiation. The Bhoonslah,* on

* The *family* name of the Rajahs of Berar.

whose decision it was likely to turn, had never been on a cordial footing with the English Government; and there was reason to think, that he would view any measures which strengthened the power of the Peishwah with particular jealousy, as he was known to cherish hopes of obtaining for himself the first dignity in the Mahratta empire, to which he had some claims, from birth. The Governor-General, aware of these sentiments, had taken every means within his power to conciliate this chief; and had addressed a letter to him explanatory of the scope and intention of his proceedings at Poonah. But the manner in which this communication was received, did not afford any sanguine hope of his being an advocate for peace: on the contrary, there was just ground to believe, that the Bhoonslah would, upon this occasion, stimulate Scindiah, and every chief over whom he had influence, to attack the British Government: and though his character was the opposite of warlike, he, like almost all the Mahrattas, anticipated success in such a contest; as it was evident, both from their expressions and correspondence, that they drew all their conclusions from the events of the former war which they had carried on against the English. They seemed, indeed, at this moment to have forgotten the changes which a period of twenty-two years had effected; and it was early obvious to all persons near the scene of negotiation, that the constant recurrence of the Mahrattas to the success which had formerly attended the combination against us, and the obstacles which their ignorance and pride opposed to their taking a just view of the increase of our power subsequently to that date, would

make them precipitate a war, in spite of every effort which could be used to prevent that extremity.

"Lord Wellesley, as soon as he received an account of the unfavourable state of the negotiations with Scindiah, *vested in the officers in command of the armies in Hindostan and the Deccan the completest civil, military, and political powers in those quarters.** *Major-General Wellesley was specifically authorised, at this early stage, to negotiate arrangements or treaties, either by himself, or through residents or agents, with Scindiah, Holkar, or the Rajah of Berar*, with a view of prevailing upon those chiefs to retire with their armies within the boundaries of their own states, or to give some sufficient pledge of their pacific disposition towards the British Government and its allies.

"General Wellesley was charged in these instructions to demand of Scindiah a peremptory declaration of his intentions, and to insist upon his giving that in a certain number of days, which were to be settled at the discretion of the Major-General, but reasonably fixed with reference to the season, and to the possible opening of the campaign in an advantageous manner to the British Government. If the explanation given by Scindiah was not full and satisfactory, the General was instructed to recall the Resident from his camp; and directed, if war became inevitable, to carry it on in the most active manner, and to follow up his success, without listening to any proposal for peace, until the power of the chiefs, against whom the war was

* *Vide* the case submitted to counsel and the opinions of R. Ryder, Esq., and Wm. Adam, Esq., on the legality of these appointments, page 343, chap. xiii.

made, should be totally annihilated. If circumstances required it, General Wellesley had authority given him to conclude a peace with Scindiah, or the Rajah of Berar, conjointly or separately, as might appear to him most advisable.

"In the instructions to Lord Lake,* who was at the head of a large army in Hindostan, the objects to be accomplished, if a war occurred, were fully pointed out. These were, in the first place, the complete reduction of that independent and formidable French authority, which had been established in Hindostan. His Lordship was directed to occupy the whole space of the country forming the Dooab, between the rivers Jumnah and the Ganges to the mountains of Cumaoun, and also to possess himself of Delhi, Agra, and a chain of posts on the right banks of the Jumnah, from the mountains of Cumaoun to the province of Bundlecund. It was not, the Governor-General informed Lord Lake in these instructions, his intention to extend the Company's possessions beyond the line of the Jumnah, Agra and Delhi included, and a chain of posts to protect the navigation of the river. All the connections which might be formed to the south and west of the Jumnah beyond this line, he desired to have upon the principles of defensive alliance, or tributary depen-

* Of Lord Lake, the Governor of Madras in a private note, thus writes to Lord Wellesley:—"The General's residence here has proved, to those who have been living in his society, a source of gratification; and I have the greatest satisfaction in congratulating your Lordship upon his succeeding to the chief command, being persuaded that his experience and professional knowledge, joined to a correct and considerate understanding, and to a great suavity of manners, must render General Lake a useful member of your Lordship's government, and a valuable addition to your society."—*MS.*

dence, so as to leave existing between the British possessions and the Mahratta empire a barrier formed by petty states, freely exercising the rights of independent government, each in their respective limits, in alliance with the Company, and under the protection of the British Government.

"The Governor-General in these instructions, placed great importance in the early rescue of the person and titular authority of the Mogul from the French party. He also signified his intention of subduing Bundlecund, as the vicinity of that province to Benares, and several of the richest and most valuable possessions of the Company, made it dangerous to leave it in the hands of the enemy.

"The detailed opinion of the Governor-General respecting the best mode of carrying every part of his instructions into execution, was conveyed to Lord Lake; but that officer was entrusted with the fullest power of altering or modifying every part of his orders, as circumstances might demand; and the commencement of his operations was of course to depend upon the result of the negotiation then pending between General Wellesley and Doulut Row Scindiah.

"Major-General Wellesley, in conformity with the instructions he had received, addressed a letter to Doulut Row Scindiah, under date the 14th of July, wherein, after stating the amicable objects of the treaty of Bassein, and remarking upon the hostile spirit of the measures adopted by the confederate chiefs since the conclusion of that treaty, he demanded the separation of the army of Scindiah from that of the Rajah of Berar, and the retreat of the former

across the Nerbuddah, and stated his intention, in this letter, of making the British troops resume their ordinary stations as soon as the Mahratta chiefs had complied with this requisition. On the 18th of July, when General Wellesley received the instructions of the Governor-General, dated the 26th of June, he addressed another letter to Scindiah informing him of the full and extensive powers with which he was vested ; and he directed the Resident with that chief to demand of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, their separation, and the return of their armies to their usual stations ; and instructed him, if these demands were not complied with, to withdraw himself instantly from the Mahratta camp.

"Doulut Row Scindiah seemed at first inclined to comply with General Wellesley's requisition ; but, after a consultation with the Rajah of Berar, and a delay of several days, it was at last stated to the Resident, at a conference which he had with both chiefs on the 25th of July, that their troops were within their own territories, that they would promise not to pass the Adjuntee hills, nor to march to Poonah; and that they had given written assurances to the Governor-General that they would never attempt to overthrow the treaty of Bassein.

"In reply to these assurances, the Resident repeated Major-General Wellesley's observation, that it was altogether impossible to confide in their professions while they continued to occupy a position which was not necessary for their security, and which threatened the frontier of our ally the Nizam. After hearing these, and similar arguments, the chiefs requested a further

delay till the 28th of July, when they promised a definitive answer; and the Resident was induced, by his knowledge of the anxious desire of the Governor-General to avoid, if possible, the occurrence of war, to depart from the positive instructions of General Wellesley, and grant a further delay.

"On the 28th the Resident sent to require the final answer which he had been promised. He received a message in reply, that Doulut Row Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar meant to have a conference that day, at which it would not be proper for him to assist; 'but that he should be informed of the time which should be fixed to receive him.'

"The Resident replied to this communication by accusing Doulut Row Scindiah of having violated his promise. He would, he informed that chief, wait till next day at noon for an answer; and if he did not then receive one that was satisfactory, he would send off his tents towards Aurungabad, and follow himself next day.

"After several further evasions, the Resident agreed to meet Doulut Row Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar once more, on the 31st of July; and at this conference he received from those chiefs several propositions for an amicable adjustment. They proposed to retire to Boorhanpore (a town upon the Taptie, a few marches from their position), provided General Wellesley would agree to march his troops to their ordinary stations: but, on being told this proposition was altogether inadmissible, as it would leave them in a situation to pursue any measures which they chose, while it deprived the Company's government of the means which it then

possessed of opposing their designs, they suggested that the Resident should appoint a day for the march of the respective forces of these chieftains from the place of their encampment, and that he should pledge the faith of the British Government for the retreat of the army under General Wellesley on the day on which the armies of the confederates should return to their usual stations.

"Though the acceptance of this proposition was in opposition to his instructions from General Wellesley, his ardent desire for an amicable result to the negotiation which he had so ably conducted, led Colonel Collins to consent to forward the letter, containing this offer of adjustment, to General Wellesley, and to remain in camp till he received an answer. But that spirit of evasion, deceit, and falsehood, which had marked every stage of this negotiation, was conspicuously shown at its close. The letter of Doulut Row Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar to General Wellesley, were sent to the Resident; but, instead of this proposition, which he had consented to forward, they contained no more than the offer to retreat with their combined armies to Boorhanpore, while they required General Wellesley to return with his troops to their ordinary stations. As the Resident had before given the most formal and positive refusal to this proposition, he could not but consider this conduct on the part of the Chiefs as equally insulting and faithless; and he was confirmed by it in a belief, which he had been reluctant to entertain, of their unalterable resolution to endeavour to reduce, if they could not destroy, the strength of the British Government, by an attack upon

that state and its allies; which they were only delaying, till they had collected all their means, and increased, by their negotiations and intrigues, the strength of that combination, which they desired to form against its power.

"Colonel Collins left the camp of Doulut Row Scindiah on the 3rd of August; on the 6th of August the following note was addressed by Major-General Wellesley to Scindiah, and the war was begun by an attack of the fortress of Ahmednughur, on the 8th of that month:—

"MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. A. WELLESLEY TO DOULUT ROW SCINDIAH.

'6th August, 1803.

"'I have received your letter. You will recollect that the British Government did not threaten to commence hostilities against you, but you threatened to commence hostilities against the British Government and its allies; and when called upon to explain your intentions, you declared that it was doubtful whether there would be peace or war; and in conformity with your threats, and your declared doubts, you assembled a large army in a station contiguous to the Nizam's frontier.

"'On this ground I called upon you to withdraw that army to its usual station, if your subsequent pacific declarations were sincere: but instead of complying with this reasonable requisition you have proposed that I should withdraw the troops which are intended to defend the territories of the allies against your designs, and that you and the Rajah of Berar should be suffered

to remain with your troops assembled, in readiness to take advantage of their absence.

"'This proposition is unreasonable and inadmissible, and you must stand the consequences of the measures which I find myself compelled to adopt, in order to repell your aggressions.

"'I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties: you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences.

"'ARTHUR WELLESLEY.'"

The war between the British Government and the Mahratta chiefs, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, continued only five months, but it was marked by a series of the most brilliant and decisive victories on record;—the battles of Delhi and Laswaree, of Assaye and Arghaum, and the reduction of the strong forts of Allyghur, Agra, and Gwalier, of Ahmednughur, Asseerghur, Gawilghur, and Cuttack. The Confederates were compelled to sue separately for peace, after the annihilation of their infantry and cannon, and the loss of their finest provinces, beside a number of their most valuable fortresses.

The imperial city of Delhi was rescued from the French General Perron—

> 'Who after leaving Hindostan a wild,
> And scarce to the Mogul a cup of coffee,'

capitulated, and retired with the fortune which he had amassed, to Europe. The regular brigades of Scindiah, officered by Frenchmen, and amounting to sixteen thousand men, disciplined in the European method, with

a very heavy and well appointed train of artillery, were at the same time effectually extinguished.

The Rajah of Berar immediately after the fall of Gawilghur, entered into a treaty with General Wellesley, by which he agreed to give up the province of Cuttack, and all his share of the provinces of Berar westward of the Wurdah, of which he had before collected the revenues in participation with the Soubahdar of the Deccan, to whom this cession was not of more importance, as it added to his revenue, than as it strengthened his frontier, and freed him from those continued contests that naturally attended the existence of a double authority collecting the revenues of the same country.

The Company engaged, by this treaty, to arbitrate all differences which might henceforward arise between the Rajah of Berar, the Soubahdar of the Deccan, and the Peishwah; and the Rajah agreed, that he would never admit any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American Power, which might be at war with England, into his service. It was stipulated that each of the contracting States should keep a resident minister at the Court of the other.

These were the principal conditions of this treaty of peace, which was concluded on the 17th of December, 1803. It was immediately followed by the treaty with Scindiah, of which the following were the leading articles:—Scindiah ceded to the Company all the territories he possessed in Hindostan to the northward of those of the Rajahs of Jypore, Jodepore, and the Ranah of Gohud; and the fort and territory of Baroach. He ceded also all lands to the south of Adjuntee; and all

claims of every description upon the British Government and its allies, the Soubahdar of the Deccan, the Peishwah, and the Guickwar family in Guzerat. It was a condition of this treaty, that if Scindiah should hereafter enter into a defensive treaty with the British Government, the pay of any English corps fixed in his service should be defrayed from the revenues of the territories ceded in the treaty of peace. The Company agreed by this treaty, in consideration of the great losses sustained by the principal officers of Scindiah's court and army, from the cession of the provinces of Hindostan, to grant pensions to them agreeably to a list given in by Scindiah, to an annual amount of fifteen lacs of rupees.

These were the leading articles of this treaty negotiated by General Wellesley. It contained many small recessions of provinces and villages, which had been hereditary in his family; and the grant of which was intended, and had in a great degree the effect, to reconcile him to the great losses which he had sustained. This treaty of peace was concluded on the 30th of December, 1803; and the connection with Scindiah was further cemented by a treaty of defensive alliance, concluded by the acting Resident, Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, at his Court, on the 27th of February, 1804. By this treaty Scindiah became entitled to the assistance of a corps of six battalions of sepoys, which were either to be stationed within his territories, or at a convenient frontier post in the Honourable Company's territories, (as Scindiah preferred;) and this corps was to be paid out of the revenues of those countries which Scindiah had ceded to the Company.

Though Jeswunt Row Holkar continued to profess his friendship for the British Government, his conduct at this period indicated other designs; and the Governor-General instructed Lord Lake to enter into a negotiation with that chief that would lead to an early and full explanation of his views, and relieve the Company's government from the expense and alarm to which its provinces must be subject while such a horde of freebooters, as the army under Holkar's command, were assembled on its frontier, or that of its allies.

Lord Lake addressed a letter to Jeswunt Row Holkar, dated the 29th of January, 1804, stating generally the terms on which the British Government was disposed to leave him in the unmolested exercise of his authority, but requiring, as a proof of the sincerity of the amicable professions which he had made, that he should withdraw his army from the threatening position it then occupied, retire within his own territories, and abstain from the exaction of any tribute from the allies of the British Government.

Holkar, after some delay, sent vakeels (or agents) to wait upon the Commander-in-Chief, to whom they made, on the part of their master, the following propositions:—1st. That Holkar should be permitted to collect the choute, agreeably to the custom of his ancestors. 2nd. That the ancient possessions formerly held by his family (twelve of the finest districts in the Dooab, and a district in Bundlecund), should be given to him. 3rd. That the country of Humanah, which was formerly in the possession of the Holkar family, should be ceded to him. 4th. That his country should be guaranteed to him, and a treaty concluded

with him on the same terms as we had done with Scindiah. These haughty demands were rejected; and their nature, as well as the manner in which they were made, satisfied Lord Lake of the real designs of Jeswunt Row; which were soon afterwards more fully developed by the contents of several letters which he wrote to the tributaries and dependents of the British Government in Hindostan, whom he excited, by every argument which he could use, to revolt against that state, whose territories, he informed them, it was his immediate intention to ravage and destroy. Lord Lake also obtained about this period a copy of a letter from Jeswunt Row Holkar to General Wellesley (supposed to be written early in February), in which he had demanded the cession of several provinces of the Deccan, which he affirmed were originally the property of the Holkar family. This letter concluded with this remarkable expression:—"Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun, and plundered. Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings, in continual war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."

These menaces were followed by acts of open aggression: Holkar sent an agent to Scindiah's camp, and solicited openly the aid of that chief in an attack upon the British possessions; and at the same time commenced the plunder of the territories of the Rajah of Jypore. The Commander-in-Chief, considering these proceedings as the commencement of hostilities, advanced against Holkar, who retreated from the position which he had occupied, and was pursued to some dis-

tance by a British force, the successes of which were marred by the retreat of Colonel Monson's corps, and the very severe loss of officers and men at the siege of Bhurrutpore; but Holkar's power was effectually broken before the close of Lord Wellesley's administration. The battles of Deeg and Futty-ghur were fatal to his hopes. The fortresses of Chandore and Gaulnah, which were the strongholds of the family, were also taken; and in April, 1805, this dangerous freebooter retreated across the Chumbul with an army reduced from forty thousand cavalry, twenty thousand infantry, and upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon, to a wretched body of about eight or ten thousand horse, four or five thousand infantry, and between twenty and thirty guns.

COLONEL SYMES TO MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(Private.)

"London, 9th Nov., 1804.

"My Lord,

"The last letter which I had the honour to address to your Lordship was dated on the 4th of last August: since that time the affairs of Europe have exhibited no event that might not have been expected. Buonaparte progressively imposes his yoke on the continental sovereigns, and will not desist until he renders every state subject to France, or perishes in the attempt. The Northern Powers seem disposed to curb his restless career; but how far they may be able to effect the good work, the ensuing spring and summer will determine; being entirely unacquainted with their

comparative force and resources, I cannot conjecture what is likely to be the result of such a contest.

"The recess of Parliament and the season have dispersed the champions of St. Stephens, and left Mr. Pitt in possession of the field. His administration as yet has been marked by no vigorous measure against the enemy, unless the expedition of catamarans with which Sir Home Popham amused Lord Melville, and frightened the French boats, be considered as such: and comparatively perhaps it ought, for where nothing has been attempted before, even Sir Home's little contrivance may be dignified by the name of an enterprise.

"My absence from London on a two-months' visit to my friends in Ireland prevented me from knowing what was done in regard to India, or whether anything was done. The intercepted India correspondence supplied a subject of conversation for the day, and quickly sunk into oblivion. Lord Grenville's and Mr. H. Wellesley's letters are the only ones of importance, and it would have been as well perhaps if the latter had not appeared; but, after all, it only tells the Directors, in pretty plain language, your Lordship's opinion of them, which they well enough knew before. Lord Grenville's letter breathes a pure spirit of friendship, which, I am persuaded, he sincerely feels for your Lordship.

"General Lake's peerage and General Wellesley's ribbon were at last wrung, not from the justice, but the selfishness of Government. A universal murmur prevailed throughout the highest military circles: 'Was this encouragement to go to India?' Minis-

ters have paid the debt, not when they ought, but when they could no longer elude payment.

"To the multitude, to the uninformed mass of the people, to all Europe, the conduct of Government to your Lordship appears inexplicable. Your Lordship received the honourable thanks of Parliament in your subordinate capacity, whilst towards your supreme character of Governor-General, either mysterious silence was preserved, or dubious incertitude expressed. Lord Castlereagh, with studied coyness, *hesitated* and *paused*, and *appeared desirous* to *approve;* but his candour, it seems, stood in his way; he had not, forsooth, made up his mind—he had not weighed all the causes of the war — he was not prepared to give a decided opinion on its justice and policy. This mental reservation, so uncandid and unworthy of a statesman, would appear to be assumed for three purposes—it gratified the Directors — it screened him from the imputation of making a charge positively unjust—and it cast a temporary veil over the brilliancy of actions which, if displayed in their real lustre, could not fail to exhibit a contrast disgraceful to the administration of which his Lordship was a prominent member. To nothing else than the most pitiful policy can be ascribed Lord Castlereagh's behaviour : that Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville should acquiesce in it, is surprising. They have probably assigned their reasons to your Lordship, but the world know nothing of these reasons; and so long as the public is kept in ignorance, your friends must remain dissatisfied.

"I have no doubt that the spring of the ensuing year will open with some enterprise worthy of the

English name. We have submitted to a spiritless and defensive attitude so long that the nation is become ashamed; and timidity forms no part of Mr. Pitt's character.

Ireland is tranquil at present; and (will it be credited) its inhabitants are become industrious and sober; but they are prepared to revolt whenever an opportunity offers. I do not think there is one Roman Catholic subject in the kingdom thoroughly loyal.

"Return, my Lord, when you may, I fear that you will find the internal administration of this country, from the conflict of parties, in a precarious, if not in a perturbed state. So long as the King's mental faculties continue equal to the common functions of sovereignty, Mr. Pitt will probably maintain his post; but the hour that terminates his Majesty's ability to reign, will annihilate the power of the present Minister. The struggle, no doubt, will be fierce, for Mr. Pitt will not easily be compelled to yield his ground a second time. The Prince of Wales has publicly raised the standard of opposition, and beat up for volunteers. Were I to detail all that I have heard, it would fill a volume. Suffice it to say that, in my opinion, the prospects of internal convulsions is much more to be dreaded than the flotilla of Buonaparte, or any change that can happen in Continental politics.

"I received a few days ago the continuation and conclusion of the Mahratta papers, which your Lordship was so good as to transmit, and I mean to propose them to Mr. Pole to publish them, together with the address and signatures of the inhabitants of Calcutta, in a separate pamphlet, to correspond with the former

incomplete publication, which, with this addition, will be perfect. Your Lordship's friends ought to circulate, as widely as possible, a true knowledge of the affairs of India; for malevolence is very diligently employed to misrepresent.

"I write this letter in haste, as I have only just heard of the opportunity, and I enclose it to Mr. Buchanan from prudential motives. I sincerely hope that it may find you in good health: that public success and private happiness may attend you, is the sincere wish of your Lordship's devoted and grateful humble servant, MICHAEL SYMES."

"PS. I have this moment heard that a reconciliation, or what will bear the appearance of one to the world, is likely, through the medium of Lord Moira, to take place between two august personages, as is to be desired for decency's sake."

The Marquess Wellesley regretted very much the removal of Lord Clive from the government of Madras, in which post he had most cordially coöperated with the Governor-General; although from Lord Clive's successor, Lord William Bentinck, it is but right to add, his excellency received the most honourable support.

In a minute, entering into a full discussion of the policy of his own administration of the affairs of the Madras presidency, on the eve of his departure for Europe, Lord Clive observes:—"I have already recorded my belief that the dependence of the inferior presidencies on the Government-General cannot be rendered too explicit. The government of these dominions can only be successfully regulated by one authority, sus-

taining, invigorating, directing, and pervading the whole. The subordinate powers can only emanate from this great source; and every obstacle which continues to divide them from that fountain must produce the stagnation and corruption of their vital essence. On the foundation of this belief I have invariably studied to apply the leading principles of policy adopted by the supreme authority at Fort William to the executive affairs of this presidency. For this purpose I have solicited the aid of his Excellency the Governor-General's advice, by cultivating a regular and intimate communication of sentiments with his Excellency; and it has been my peculiar good fortune, on every occasion of importance to my administration, to derive the greatest degree of benefit from the counsel, support, and friendship of the Governor-General."—30*th August*, 1803.

In a letter to the Marquess Wellesley, dated 3rd of September, 1803, Lord Clive alluding to his return to England says, "It is impossible for me to contemplate my approaching separation from your Lordship's labours, without reviving in my mind all those sentiments of gratitude and attachment which have been excited by your Lordship's uniform friendship, support, and advice; nor without renewing to your Lordship the assurance of my most fervent esteem, respect, and affection."*

Mr. D. Scott writes from Exmouth on the 5th of March, 1804: "I had a letter from the Marchioness last week: all well. We have all suffered much anxiety for the King's health, and begin to flatter ourselves with expectations of his recovery."

* MS. Collection.

The Marquess Wellesley in a letter to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, 19th of June, 1804, makes the following allusion to the course adopted with reference to Lord Clive :—

"I am deeply concerned to learn that any expressions extracted from Lord Clive by the base and infamous practices of the Court of Directors, against that honourable and worthy public officer, should have compelled your Lordship to sanction any declaration of the Court which may prove injurious to his Lordship's high spirit and noble sense of honour. But I trust to similar sentiments in your Lordship's mind for affording every practicable degree of protection to the virtuous character and splendid services of Lord Clive, who has been the companion and instrument of all the success of my administration, and whose just cause I can never abandon while I shall retain any recollection of the prosperous result of our united counsels, or of the glorious triumphs of the British arms achieved under our joint exertions, and indissoluble union of sentiments and views."

In the month of March, 1802, the Honourable Henry Wellesley resigned his situation of Lieutenant-Governor of Oude, and the commission appointed for the provisional government of that province was dissolved. Mr. Wellesley immediately returned to Europe. In November, 1803, the Directors in a dispatch to the Governor-General remark: "The special commission, at the head of which Mr. Henry Wellesley was placed, appears to us to have executed their trust with zeal, diligence, and ability. The general report delivered in by Mr.

Wellesley on the termination of his mission, has afforded us much satisfactory information with respect to the resources of the upper provinces; and we are happy to take this occasion of approving the conduct and acknowledging the services of that gentleman." The Marquess entertained a strong affection for his brother Henry, and in numberless passages in his private and public letters mentions him with distinction. In one of his Lordship's letters to Lord Castlereagh, the Governor-General observes:—"I derive the most cordial satisfaction from your Lordship's kind attention to Mr. Henry Wellesley, and I entertain a confident expectation, that further experience will confirm and augment your Lordship's just estimation of his talents and services."

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD CASTLEREAGH.

(Private and Confidential.)

"Barrackpore, Dec. 31, 1803.

"My dear Lord,

"I shall esteem it as a particular favour if your Lordship will have the kindness to communicate my dispatches by this conveyance, of every description, to Mr. Henry Wellesley, on whose discretion and judgment your Lordship may entirely rely. Every part of my conduct, and the whole course of my sentiments on all subjects, are familiar to Mr. Henry Wellesley, in whom I repose the most implicit confidence.* Believe

* In a letter, dated Barrackpore, 5th January, 1803, we find the following memorandums, written for the guidance of Lieut. Davidson, who was dispatched with papers to London:—"To call on Lady Wellesley, at Park Lane, and leave his address. In the event of Lieut. Davidson

me to be, my dear Lord, with great regard and esteem, ever your Lordship's most faithful servant,

"WELLESLEY."

being ordered to return to India, to have the goodness to give notice of the circumstance to Lady Wellesley; Hon. H. Wellesley; Hon. W. W. Pole, Hanover Square."

CHAPTER XIII.

Case submitted to Counsel on the Legality of the Appointment of General Wellesley and General Stuart as Plenipotentiaries in 1803.—Historical Discussion on the Office, Powers, and Duties of Governor-General of India.—Opinions of Mr. Ryder and Mr. Adam, as to the Illegality of the Appointment.—Court of Directors censure Lord Wellesley's Conduct.—The Board of Control revise the Court's Orders, and state their Opinions on Lord Wellesley's Absence from Council.

The following copies of a case submitted to R. Ryder, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn Fields, an eminent lawyer, and M.P. for Bridport,* and to William Adam, Esq., one of the counsel employed in the defence of Lord Melville in 1805, relative to the delegation of plenary powers by the Governor-General to General Wellesley and General Stuart in 1803, with the opinions thereon, are extracted from the Wellesley collection of MSS. They are interesting, as well on account of the historical facts which they contain, as of the intrinsic testimony they bear to the rigidness of the scrutiny to which all the leading events of the Marquess Wellesley's policy were subjected to by the home authorities. These gentlemen doubted whether Lord Wellesley was, strictly speaking, *legally* competent to delegate his powers to his brother and the other parties named. The question is perhaps open for discussion; but

* Subsequently Secretary of State for the Home Department.

neither Mr. Ryder nor Mr. Adam called in question the policy of the measure under the extraordinary circumstances which then existed:—

CASE.

"The state of affairs in the Mahratta empire, and the security of the alliance between his Highness the Peishwah, and the British government in India, appearing to the Governor-General to require that a temporary authority should be constituted at the least possible distance from the scene of eventual negotiation or hostilities, with full power to conclude upon the spot whatever arrangements might have become necessary, either for the final settlement of peace, or for the active prosecution of war, his Excellency on the 26th of June, 1803, issued certain instructions to the Honourable Major-General Wellesley, and eventually to his Excellency, Lieutenant-General Stuart, with an authority and power commensurate to those objects. (A copy of the instructions is left herewith.) In considering the questions intended to be submitted to your consideration with regard to these instructions, you may have occasion to refer more particularly to Statute 13 Geo. III., c. 63, s. 8; Statute 26 Geo. III., c. 16, s. 7; Statute 31 Geo. III., c. 40; and Statute 33 Geo. III., c. 52, ss. 53, 54.

"*Your opinion is desired by the Board: First, whether it was legally competent to the Governor-General solely, or to the Governor-General in council, to delegate to Major-General Wellesley the power contained in the above instructions.*"

OPINION.

"I observe that the instructions alluded to are dated from Fort William, but I do not find in the acts of Parliament from which the powers of the Governor-General are derived, that he has any authority (except in the case of his absence from his own government of Bengal, which is provided for by 33 Geo. III., c. 52., s. 54,) to act in such matters as those to which the instructions relate, solely, or in his own name.

"The powers of government given to the Governor-General, and other Governors in the different presidencies, are to be exercised in their respective councils; in which councils, in case of a difference of opinion, the determination rests (*vide* 13 Geo. III., c. 43., s. 8,) with the major part of those present. These several Governors have, however, an authority to act, or forbear to act, without the concurrence, or rather in opposition to, the rest of the Council in cases of high importance; but on such occasions, obviously with a view of securing previous deliberation, and due attention to the different opinions entertained concerning the measure under consideration, the Governors and other members are directed (*vide* 33 Geo. III., c. 52, s. 47, copied verbatim from 26 Geo. III., c. 16., s. 7,) *mutually to exchange with, and communicate in council to each other, in writing, under their respective hands, to be recorded at large on their secret consultations, the respective grounds and reasons of their respective opinions;* and though the responsibility in such cases is to rest solely (*vide* 33 Geo. III., c. 52, s. 48, copied from 26 Geo. III., c. 16, s. 8,) on the Governor so acting without the concurrence and assent of the rest of

the council, yet the order or resolution then made is to be signed (*vide* 33 Geo. III., c. 22, s. 47, and 26 Geo. III., c. 16, s. 7,) by the other members present, as well as by the Governor; in which circumstance it seems to differ from the common orders and proceedings of the Governor in council which are (33 Geo. III., c. 52, s. 39, and 26 Geo. c. 16, s. 12,) *previous to their being published or put into execution to be signed by the Chief Secretary to the presidency,* and are not directed in these acts to be signed by the individual members present. I am therefore clearly of opinion that it was not competent to the Governor-General being at Calcutta to delegate the powers contained in the instructions referred to, otherwise than in council.

CASE.

"*Secondly, under what rules and restrictions, and within what limits is it competent either for the Governor-General solely or for the Governor-General in council to delegate to any person or persons all or any of the powers whereby the Governor-General solely, or the Governor-General in council, is legally possessed.*"

OPINION.

"Whether the Governor-General in council could delegate them appears to me to be a question of considerable difficulty, and but for the language of the 31st Geo. III., c. 40, to which I shall advert more particularly in a subsequent part of this report, I might have been inclined to think, upon a view of the particular situation in which the representative of British dominion in India must of necessity be placed, that there was not any legal objection to a delegation by

the Governor-General in council of any powers he may possess; and that those instructions, if so given, could not be considered as illegal, provided they do not convey larger powers than the Governor-General could himself in council have exercised.

"On the first appointment of a Governor-General and Council by 13 Geo. III., c. 63, s. 7, the civil and military government of the presidency, &c., &c., are vested in them, 'to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the same now are, or at any time heretofore might have been, exercised by the President and Council or Select Committee in the said kingdoms.'

"The 33rd Geo. III., c. 52, s. 24, enacts that the whole civil and military government of the presidency, &c., &c., shall be vested in the Governor-General and three Councillors subject to such rules, regulations, &c., &c., as are provided &c., &c., by any former acts and not by that act repealed or altered. It is possible that some knowledge of the manner in which the Government was exercised by the President and Council or the Select Committee previous to the 13th Geo. III. might be of use in forming an opinion upon the point in question, but reasoning from the words of the two acts I have last referred to as well as from the obvious expediency of giving a large discretion and large powers to those who are to govern an extensive empire at a great distance from their employers, I should have conceived it to have been the intention of the Legislature that the Governor-General in council should possess and exercise the sovereign authority and dominion in the arrangement of the concerns of the British nation in India, subject to no other restrictions

or limitations than such as are specially provided by act of Parliament, or contained in instructions sent from hence. *I apprehend it to have been the policy of this country to give the Governor-General as much as possible the appearance and consequence, in the eyes of the native princes and chiefs in India, of an independent Sovereign.* But without resorting to that consideration, it is obvious that in the government of territories so extensive as our Indian possessions, and particularly in maintaining the relations of peace and war with the other princes and states in that part of the world, the delegation of important powers must become almost a matter of necessity; and there being no provisions of the Legislature, nor any instructions on this subject, I see nothing which is to mark out or define how far the practice of delegation may be carried, nor any ground on which any portion of the Governor-General's power and authority is to be considered as peculiarly inseparable from his own person, and incapable of being exercised through any channel through which it may appear to him, on deliberation with his Council, most likely to be exercised with effect.

"But whatever opinion I might have been induced to form upon the legality of these instructions on general reasoning, and without other proof of the views and intentions of Parliament than the provisions of the two last-mentioned acts, it seems to me that this question as far as the law of the case is concerned, assumes a very different shape, and that the argument upon it is materially altered by the enactment of the 31st Geo. III., c. 40, to which I have before alluded. This statute recites that Lord Cornwallis as Governor-Gen-

eral, and the Council, had by an order in council invested the Governor-General with the full powers and authority of the government of Fort William in all matters which respected the conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultaun, or negotiating &c., or forming arrangements with any of the other chiefs or princes in India for the termination of the war, or which he might judge expedient for the advancement of the interests of the East India Company. The act does not declare this order to have been good, but reciting further that it is expedient that such order in council and the acts done by virtue thereof should be established and confirmed, enacts that it shall be held, deemed, and taken from the date thereof to have been valid and effectual in law. It should seem, therefore, that the order wanted the aid of the act to support it; and I am not aware of any material distinction between the substance of that order and an order in council delegating the present instructions. It is difficult to view this statute in any other light than as a legislative construction of the powers given by the former act to the Governor-General in council, (33 Geo. III., c. 52,) though passed since; not appearing to make any difference in this respect, and as an implied declaration that the powers given by these instructions require the confirmation of an act of Parliament. Without such confirmation, therefore, I am inclined to think that these instructions are not warranted by law. But I should wish to be understood to give this opinion with that degree of doubt which must be felt where general reasoning points one way, and the inference from the language of a particular act of Parliament another.

" If, however, there should be no legal objection to the delegation of the powers of the Governor-General and Council, by an order made by the Governor-General in council, it must be obvious that the powers delegated should not exceed those of which he himself is possessed ; but that they must be subject, in his representative, to all limitations and restrictions by which they were defined and controlled when lodged in his own hands. Before any opinion can be formed as to the extent of the powers contained in the instructions compared with the Governor-General's authority, it would be necessary that the case should state the circumstances and situation in which the different chiefs and princes, with reference to whom the instructions were given, stood towards the English Government. The only clause of which I am aware in any Act of Parliament on this subject, by which the powers of the Governor-General in regard to commencing hostilities, or negotiating with the princes and states in India, is circumscribed, is the 42nd section of 33rd Geo. III. c. 52. This clause professes to have for its object the prevention *of 'schemes of conquest and extension of dominion.'* It prohibits the Government in India from declaring war, or commencing hostilities, or entering into any treaty for that purpose without orders from England, *except against powers who may have commenced hostilities, or made preparations against the British nation in India, or against those whose territories are guaranteed by us ;* and it also prohibits the Government from guaranteeing the possessions or territories of any of the country princes or states without such orders, (probably with the view of preventing

the above-mentioned prohibition of offensive war from being evaded, by guaranteeing the possessions of some country power, who might be made the principal in the war, in the first instance, as a pretence for our engaging in it.) The act then prohibits the government there from commencing hostilities, or entering into any treaty for that purpose, in the excepted case, against any but aggressors; and from guaranteeing the possession of any prince or state, except in consideration of the other parties engaging to assist us in the then existing or impending contest; but it does not appear to me to lay any restraint upon the powers of the Governor-General in forming any arrangement, or entering into any guarantee which he may find necessary for the restoration of peace or in the final settlement of differences, in consequence of which hostilities have been commenced, or preparations have been made. If, therefore, all the chiefs and princes with reference to whom Major-General Wellesley's instructions were given, were at the time engaged in hostile acts of preparations against the British nation, or disposed to coöperate in our defence as allies, I think it might be successfully contended, that the powers given in these instructions (perhaps even those in the 12th and 13th paragraphs, which appear to me most questionable,) do not exceed the powers vested in the Governor-General and Council by this clause; but it would require a much more enlarged and accurate knowledge of the state of affairs in India, at the period to which these instructions relate, than I possess, to authorise me in hazarding an opinion upon such a question.

"It is hardly necessary for me to add, after what I

have written, that a more particular answer cannot, in my opinion, be given to the second question proposed in this case. Existing circumstances and situations must necessarily form material features in the view which must be taken of each case, in order to judge how far those acts of Parliament, and particularly the clause to which I have last referred, have been complied with. *And perhaps even after all, the answer in such instance must frequently involve, and be determined rather by considerations of public policy, than by that strict construction of a statute law* which the professional habits of a lawyer might lead him to adhere to upon such points as usually come before him,—a construction which it would require little argument to prove is wholly inadmissible as the only grounds of decision upon questions of such immense, extent, variety, and importance, as those which are frequently connected with this subject,—and one which, if adopted without latitude, must often defeat the object which the legislature, in regulating for our East Indian possessions, had in view. (Signed) R. Ryder."

"Lincoln's Inn Fields, June 26, 1804."

CASE.

Mr. Adam: "Your opinion is requested whether the Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General, has sufficient legal authority to grant the powers above mentioned to his brother, the Honourable Major-General Wellesley, and whether such powers are legal?"

OPINION.

"In order to be able to form as perfect a judgment of this case as I am capable of, I have examined the

commission to Lord Clive and his Council which passed previously to the act of the 13th of the King, appointing him President of the presidency of Fort William, &c., that I might see how the powers were granted before the interference of Parliament. The Commissions convey all the powers and authority appertaining to the office to be executed by order and under the direction of the Court of Directors. It seems to me, therefore, that the powers thus constituted do not comprehend any legal title to delegate them entirely to others, but that they must be executed by the body to whom they are given, and not by any delegation of that body. By the 13th of the King, c. 63, the Legislature speedily interfered in appointing the Governors and Councils in the East Indies. In the case of Governor-General and Council of Bengal, the whole military and civil government, the management and ordering the territorial acquisitions, is given in like manner, and to all intents and purposes, as the same had been heretofore exercised by the President and Council. Mr. Hastings, the first Governor-General, and the rest of the Council, received their appointments, by virtue of the act of Parliament, without any commission from the Company. The power, however, thus constituted, with reference to that of the President and Council which it supplanted, must still be considered as a mere delegated authority; and as the act gives no power of delegation, I conceive that it is illegal for the Governor in council to transfer the powers of government to another person, or to any other body of men :—in short, that they must execute the powers themselves, and cannot depute others to do it for them.

"Sir John Macpherson succeeded, as Senior Councillor, to the situation of Governor-General, on Mr. Hastings's return to England; this succession being by virtue of the 13th of the King, it seems to me that the same rule which is to govern in the former, must govern in this case.

"In 1785, Lord Macartney was appointed to the situation of Governor-General, by a commission under the great seal of the Company; it is precisely in the terms of that to Lord Clive, varying only by a reference to the statutes which had passed in the intermediate time. It seems to be clear, therefore, that the interference of Parliament had not made any alteration in the form or nature of the appointment, and consequently that the illegality of delegating the power of government remained the same. Lord Macartney, however, never acted under the appointment.

"Before the nomination of Lord Cornwallis to the situation of Governor-General, the act of the 26th of the King, c. 16., had passed; by the 7th section of which the Governor-General is empowered to act without the concurrence of his Council. Proceedings, however, are still made to run in the name of the Governor in council. By the 9th section of that act it is provided that nothing shall give power to the Governor-General to make or carry into execution any order or resolution which, before the passing of this act, would not have been lawful with the concurrence of the Council. The statutes which have passed since have not varied; the powers and the commissions remain the same. It seems to me, therefore, that if the case were entirely new, it must be held that Marquess Wel-

lesley had not sufficient legal authority to empower and direct General Wellesley to exercise and assume the general direction and control of all the political and military affairs of the British Government in the territories of the Nizam, the Peishwah, and the Mahratta states; and I am of opinion that their construction applies equally to the state of the law before and since the act of 1786, because the power of the Governor-General to act without the concurrence of his Council is especially restrained, by the 9th section, to such acts as were legal before that time, with the concurrence of his Council.

"The only consideration which could render this question doubtful, results from the instances of appointments which have been made at different times by the Governor-General in council: it is material, therefore, to examine the nature of those appointments with a view to discover whether any competent authority has held it to be legal. The first instance is that of General Goddard, in 1779, who was appointed by the Governor-General in council to conclude a peace with the Mahratta states on such terms as should be for the mutual benefit of both parties. This appointment never seems to have been questioned, and is to be considered as a mere ambassadorial power or agency. The next in order of time are those by which Mr. Hastings was appointed, in 1781, to discharge the powers of government in Benares and Oude. Similar authority was given to him in 1784. These appointments were charged as illegal acts in the articles of impeachment against Mr. Hastings, and by his answer a precise issue was taken upon their legality. If a

specific judgment had been delivered by the House of Lords upon this point as a mere question of law, it might have had a considerable effect in shaking the construction which seems naturally to arise upon the statutes and commissions as to the power of the Governor-General and Council delegating their authority; but the judgment in the case of Mr. Hastings was general, and the ground of the defence and acquittal did not turn upon the abstract illegality of the acts, but upon justifications founded on state necessity. No distinct adjudication, therefore, can be said to have passed on those appointments, and the only legitimate conclusion from the general sentence of acquittal is, that his joining in making the appointment, and his exercising all the powers of Governor, was not deemed by the Lords to be a high crime and misdemeanour.

"But even upon the supposition that the judicial construction here referred to had more weight than I am willing to ascribe to it, it seems to me that what took place when Lord Cornwallis was Governor-General, must decide the question. In 1790, when the war with Tippoo Sultaun was thought to require that commanding influence which would result from the personal presence of the Governor-General, Marquess Cornwallis was delegated by himself and his council to exercise the full powers and authority of the Government in the Carnatic, to form arrangements, make treaties, &c., &c. Those powers thus granted to the Governor-General, underwent the serious consideration of the Government in England, and became the subject of legislative provision. By the act of the 31st Geo. III., it was enacted, upon a recital of the order of

council, that that order should be confirmed, together with all acts done, or to be done, under it. By reference to the act at large, it clearly appears that the legislature considered the power assumed by the Governor-General in council, to delegate their authority, to be illegal; thereby pronouncing a deliberative legislative determination upon the subject, and consequently deciding that every appointment of a similar nature must be taken to be against law, and that the acts done under such an appointment might be considered as void, unless protected by an act of Parliament.

"I have not noticed the appointment of Sir Eyre Coote, nor the delegations of power by the Council of Bombay, because no observation can arise upon them nearly so strong as that which arises upon those of Mr. Hastings: they seem to have passed *sub silentio*.

"The principles and precedents upon which I rest my opinion as to the question being applicable to the appointment of a Governor-General by himself and his Council to exercise the powers of government, render it unnecessary to consider the subordinate features which distinguish the appointment of General Wellesley: at the same time it may be proper to remark that his appointment appearing to be made by the Governor-General alone, without his Council, and the circumstance of General Wellesley not being a servant of the Company, renders the question of illegality still clearer, and affords additional reason for some legislative proceeding to confirm and legalise the acts which have been done, as in the case of Lord Cornwallis.

(Signed) "WILLIAM ADAM."

"Lincoln's Inn, 27th June, 1804."

In a letter to the Board of Control from the East India House, 1805, the Court of Directors observe :—

"A doctrine was not long since advanced in India which seemed to go nearly the length of excluding the governing power at home from seriously interfering with the measures of a Governor abroad, in any other way than by recalling him ; because it was alleged that such interference, by shaking his authority, might endanger the public interests committed to his care. But besides that this kind of remedy would generally be attended with inconvenience, it may be, doubtless, salutary sometimes to interfere with the measures of a Governor, though he may not deserve to be removed. And certainly, if this doctrine were fully followed up, the ruling power in England would have little else to do in the administration of India than to nominate and recall Governors ; each of which, during his continuance in office, would thus in effect be absolute, to the very great injury of the people, and the affairs over which he was placed."

In the same dispatch the Court press the following points, that in their opinion call for censure in the Marquess Wellesley :—

"1. *Disobedience of the Court's orders, and acting in the greatest affairs without the sanction of the Government at home.*

"2. *Illegal appointments, and evasions of law.*

"3. *Profuse expenditure of the public money.*

The Board of Control in their draft of a revised dispatch to Lord Wellesley, strongly animadvert on the practice of taking important steps without the concur-

rence of the Council; particularly noticing the appointments of the Honourable Henry Wellesley, appointed by the sole authority of Lord Wellesley in July, 1801, without reference being made to his Council; and afterwards, in 1804, to the vesting extraordinary powers in Major-General Wellesley and Lieutenant-General Lake. They remark:—"This mode of conducting business seems gradually to have led to the Governor-General's being frequently absent from Council, without any cause assigned, contrary to former practice. This appears from the following memorandum found at the head of several days' consultations. His Excellency, the Most Noble the Governor-General, signifies that it is not his intention to attend the meeting of Council, and desires that the proceedings which may be held at the meeting be communicated to him for his approbation." Between the month of January and the month of August, 1811, this minute occurs nine times. From the 21st of August, 1801, to the 21st of August, 1802, the Governor-General was absent in the Upper Provinces; but between the 21st of April and the 23rd of December, 1802, this minute occurs twenty-eight times; and between January and the 18th of August, 1803, it occurs twenty-four times. We apprehend, except in case of illness, the Governor-General has never before been in the habit of absenting himself from Council."

CHAPTER XIV.

Letters from Marquess Wellesley to Lord Castlereagh, denouncing the Directors.—To Earl Camden, K. G., on the Change of Ministers.—To Earl Camden, on the State of the Army in India.—Earl Camden to Marquess Wellesley, on the War with Spain, and ordering the Issue of Letters of Marque.—Marquess Wellesley to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, respecting General Sir Arthur Wellesley.—Letter to Lord Castlereagh, on the Proposition to send Negro Regiments to India.—Observations of Lord Wellesley on the Sepoy Force.—Lord Wellesley's Note to Lord Castlereagh, on the Mahratta War.—To Lord Castlereagh, expressing his Conviction that the East India Company must be perpetuated to maintain British Power in the East.—Lord Wellesley to Earl Camden, regarding the Possessions of Spain.—To Lord Castlereagh, relative to his Departure from India.—Recommends the Appointment of Sir George Barlow.—Lord Wellesley to the Governor of St. Helena, on his Return to Europe.—Dreadful Severity of the Weather in Calcutta, June, 1805.—Letter from Sir James Mackintosh to Marquess Wellesley, respecting the Chair of Ethics and Jurisprudence in Fort William College, and a Project for a New History of India.—Biographical Notice of Sir James Mackintosh.

The following series of letters from MSS. will close the Marquess Wellesley's correspondence in India. They exhibit, very strongly, his Lordship's feelings at the close of his eventful administration, and show how confidently he relied upon receiving thanks and honours from his King and country on his return home. The concluding letter from Sir James Mackintosh, is peculiarly interesting:—

TO LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

"Fort William, 1st March, 1804.

"My dear Lord,

* * * * *

"I request your Lordship to be assured of the deep sense which I entertain of your honourable conduct towards me. It is unnecesary to repeat to your Lordship my utter contempt of any opinions which may be entertained by Mr. * * * * * *, and the Court of Directors, or to apprise you, that I expect every practicable degree of injustice and baseness from that faction. I have the honour to be, &c.,

"Wellesley."

Lord Wellesley speaks in a still higher strain of asperity and anger in a subsequent part of the same letter, (19th of June, 1804:)—

"Your Lordship may be assured that I entertain a just sense of the sentiments of public and private honour from which your conduct towards me has proceeded; and that I rely with the most entire confidence upon your Lordship's justice and public spirit to frustrate the vindictive profligacy of the Court of Directors, and to expose to the view of my Sovereign and my country, in the most distinct and perspicuous manner, the motives, principles, conduct, and result, of every branch of my administration in India. My sincere and anxious hope is, that every point of difference between me and the Court of Directors may be fully explained to Parliament and to the public. Nor can your Lordship and Mr. Addington, by any act

of friendship, afford me a protection so grateful to my feelings, or so advantageous to my character, as by a full disclosure to Parliament of every act of my administration, and of every proceeding of the Court of Directors, since I have had the misfortune to be subjected to the ignominious tyranny of Leadenhall-street. I am induced to hope, that I shall be enabled to relinquish the service of my honourable employers in the month of January or February next. Your Lordship, however, may be assured, that as no symptoms of tardy remorse displayed by the Honourable Court in consequence of my recent success in India, will vary my present estimation of the faith and honour of my very worthy and approved good masters, or protract my continuance in India for one hour beyond the limits prescribed by the public interests, so no additional outrage, injury, or insult, which can issue from the most loathsome den of the India House, will accelerate my departure, while the public safety shall appear to require my aid in this arduous station."

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL CAMDEN, K. G., HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

"Fort William, 30th January, 1805.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter, under date the 17th May, 1804, informing me of your having been honoured by his Majesty with the seals of the Colonial Office, in the room of the Right Hon. Lord Hobart.

"I request your Lordship to accept my sincere congratulations on this appointment,* in which I am satisfied that your Lordship will fulfil his Majesty's gracious intentions to the honour of the King and the advantage of the public interests.

"Your Lordship may be assured that I will not fail to address to you such dispatches as relate to the department over which your Lordship presides, in order that they may be submitted to the King, and that I may have the honour of receiving his Majesty's commands thereupon. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLESLEY."

* LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AS IT STOOD IN 1805.

Lord Viscount Sidmouth	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. William Pitt	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer (Premier).
Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Mulgrave	Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Camden	Secretary for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India.
Earl of Buckinghamshire	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

THE NOT OF CABINET.

Right Hon. William Dundas	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. George Canning	Treasurer of the Navy.
Right Hon. George Rose Right Hon. Lord Somerset	Joint Paymasters of the Forces.
The Duke of Montrose Lord Charles Spencer	Joint Postmasters-General.
William Huskisson, Esq. Sturges Bourne, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL CAMDEN, ETC.

"Fort William, 30th, January, 1805.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter, noted in the margin.*

"With a view to afford your Lordship a distinct view of the motives which have governed my conduct with regard to the return to Europe of certain of his Majesty's regiments serving in India, I have the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a letter which I addressed on the 7th of September, 1804, to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the subject of his Majesty's commands for the return to England of the 29th dragoons and the 73rd and 74th regiments.

"Since the dispatch of that letter, I have received your Lordship's instructions of the 1st of June, 1804, and the Commander-in-Chief has also transmitted to me a copy of his Royal Highness the Duke of York's orders, under date the 1st of June, 1804, for the return to England of his Majesty's 29th dragoons, the 74th and 76th regiments, the detachment of his Majesty's 88th regiment, and the regiment of De Meuron. Your

Sir William Grant . .	Master of the Rolls.
Hon. Spencer Perceval .	Attorney-General.
Sir Vicary Gibbs . .	Solicitor-General.

MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Earl of Hardwicke . . .	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Redesdale . . .	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

* Downing Street, 1st June, 1804.

Lordship's instructions of the 1st of June, 1804, however, direct the return to Europe of the 29th dragoons and the 74th and 75th regiments, together with the detachments of the 10th and 88th foot.

"Your Lordship will already have learnt that the officers and staff belonging to the detachments from his Majesty's 10th and 88th regiments have proceeded to Europe, and that the men composing those detachments have volunteered their services into the regiments remaining in India.

"The same reasons which induced me, in my letter of the 7th of September 1804, to request the Commander-in-Chief to suspend the execution of his Royal Highness the Duke of York's orders for the return to Europe of the 29th dragoons and the 73rd and 74th regiments, still demand the further suspension of the orders signified to me in your Lordship's letter, to which I have now the honour to reply. The 74th regiment is with the army in the Deccan, and cannot at present be withdrawn without the greatest inconvenience to the public interest in that quarter. The 75th and 76th regiments compose, together with the Company's European regiment, the whole strength of the European infantry of the main army in Hindostan, under General Lake, which is at this moment employed in active operations against Jeswunt Rao Holkar in that quarter. The 29th dragoons also forms a part of General Lake's army, and cannot be withdrawn without danger to the success of the military operations in Hindostan.

"The dispatches from the Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee, forwarded by this conveyance, will be submitted to your Lordship and

his Majesty's Ministers, and will apprise you of the origin, progress, and actual state of the operations against Jeswunt Rao Holkar. I entertain a confident expectation that the glorious success of our arms under the personal command of that able and illustrious officer General Lake, in Hindostan, and the entire conquest of Holkar's possessions in the Deccan, and in Malwa, will restore tranquillity to every part of India. No power now remains in this quarter of the globe capable of opposing the British arms, or of affecting the general tranquillity of this great empire. Your Lordship may be assured, therefore, that I shall embrace the earliest opportunity of carrying your Lordship's instructions of the 1st of June, 1804, into effect, whenever the execution of those orders may be compatible with the security of our possessions.

"It is my duty, however, to request your Lordship's most serious attention to the actual *deficiencies* of the King's army serving in India, and amounting on the 1st of December, 1804, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return, to six thousand nine hundred and thirty four. This deficiency has been reduced by the arrival in India of his Majesty's 17th regiment of foot, which now forms part of the garrison of Fort William; but the deficiency is still very considerable, and, combined with the deficiencies in the Company's European artillery and infantry, must be deemed a cause of just and most serious apprehension and alarm.

"Your Lordship is aware that the peace establishment which I proposed for the continent of India (in time of peace with France) amounts to four regiments of dragoons at six hundred and forty each,

and sixteen regiments of King's infantry at one thousand each, exclusive of the Company's European artillery and three regiments of the Company's European infantry of the same strength with those of his Majesty. The establishment fixed by Lord Castlereagh for the continent of India, is three regiments of dragoons and fifteen regiments of King's infantry, exclusive of the Company's European artillery and infantry.

"I recommend, however, the Company's European regiments of infantry should be reduced, and that their place should be supplied by an equal number of his Majesty's regiments, making the establishment of European infantry, proposed by me for the continent of India, nineteen King's regiments instead of sixteen King's regiments and three Company's regiments. It also appeared to me that it would be beneficial to the public interests to consider the two European regiments to be attached to the subsidiary forces serving with the Peishwah and the Soubahdar of the Deccan as extra to the ordinary peace establishment. The British Government is bound by treaty to furnish one regiment of European infantry for the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, and it would be desirable to constitute the subsidiary force at Poonah upon the same principles as that at Hyderabad.

"If this suggestion should be approved by the Government in England, my proposed establishment of European infantry for the continent of India would amount to twenty-one regiments of infantry, of which three will be either of King's or the Company's infantry. But I never considered the five additional King's regiments of infantry, proposed to be substituted in place

of the Company's regiments, and to furnish the European corps for Hyderabad and Poonah to be indespensable to our security in India: I expressly proposed this addition as a considerable but not absolutely necessary improvement in our military strength; and I shall not continue to be alarmed for the security of this empire, if the European establishment shall be completed to the extent which I originally proposed for the continent of India, of sixteen regiments of his Majesty's infantry of one thousand men each, three regiments of the Company's infantry of the same strength, with four regiments of dragoons of six hundred and forty men each, and a due proportion of European artillery.

"Whatever determination his Majesty's Ministers may adopt on this important subject, it is indispensably requisite that the European establishment in India should be complete to the strength fixed by the Government in England. The deficiency of the peace establishment of his Majesty's troops serving in India, as fixed by Lord Castlereagh, was by a return of December, which is inclosed for your Lordship's information, five thousand and fifteen men; and if the 17th regiment, since arrived, is deducted, the deficiency will still, in all probability, amount to four thousand, or near one-fourth of the whole European establishment.

"In this discussion I have entirely omitted the consideration of the military establishments on the island of Ceylon. My authority over the troops on that island is so imperfectly defined under the present constitution of the civil and military government of that settlement, that it has appeared to me to be

sufficient to refer your Lordship, on the present occasion, to my dispatch No. 24, under date the 30th of November, 1803, to the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, and particularly the 52nd to the concluding paragraphs; the statement which that letter contains of my sentiments regarding the military establishments of Ceylon, has acquired additional force by the transactions on that island since the dispatch of my letter of the 30th of November, 1803, to Lord Hobart.

"I am not ignorant of the great demand for troops which must press upon the attention of his Majesty's Ministers at home in the present crisis of affairs; and I am satisfied of the care and vigilance which will be extended by your Lordship and his Majesty's Ministers to the security of the British empire in India. It is, however, my positive duty to repeat the declaration which I have already submitted to the Government at home on various occasions; that I cannot deem this empire to be in a state of safety until the establishment described in the eighth paragraph of this letter shall be completed. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLESLEY."

TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

"Downing Street, 11th January, 1805.

"MY LORD,

"Advice having been received of an actual declaration of war by the court of Spain against Great Britain, I am to signify to your Lordship the King's commands that you instantly cause the same to be made as public as possible in the presidency under

your government, that his Majesty's subjects having this notice, may take care on the one hand to prevent any mischief which otherwise they might suffer from the Spaniards, and on the other may do the utmost in their several stations to distress and annoy them by making captures of their ships, and by destroying their commerce; for which purpose his Majesty has been pleased to order letters of marque, or commissions of privateers, to be granted in the usual manner. But in the mean time you may give assurances to the owners of all armed ships and vessels that his Majesty will consider them as having a just claim to the King's share of all Spanish ships and property which they may make prize of. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"CAMDEN."

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK, &c.

"Dated 22nd March, 1805.

"SIR,

"Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B., having obtained the permission of the Governor-General and the Right Honourable Lord Lake to proceed to Europe, I deem it to be my duty to submit to your Royal Highness a copy of a letter which has been addressed to Sir Arthur Wellesley by the Governor-General in council, on the occasion of the departure of that officer from this country. I request your Royal Highness to consider that letter to contain the full expression of my sentiments with regard to the important services which Sir Arthur Wellesley has rendered in

this quarter of the world. I have the honour to be, &c., WELLESLEY."

On the 27th of the same month a letter to the same effect was forwarded to Earl Camden, with this following addition after the words "this quarter of the world :"—"And to take an early opportunity of submitting this letter, together with the letter from the Governor-General in council to Sir Arthur Wellesley, now transmitted to your Lordship, to the gracious notice of his Majesty."

In a "private and most secret" letter, dated 25th of March 1805, Lord Wellesley strongly dissuades Lord Castlereagh from his proposition to send Negro regiments to British India. "With regard," observes his Lordship, "to the introduction of regiments composed of Negroes into the continent of India, I apprehend that the most serious objections would arise against that measure. It is impossible to repose the same confidence in regiments of Negroes which is now placed in European soldiers. In Europe, where our armies are composed entirely of European soldiers, the intermixture of a few regiments of Negroes may be a matter unimportant to the general efficiency of the army; but in this country, where the number of Europeans in each army employed in the field, and where our principal confidence for all enterprises of danger and difficulty rests on the European soldiers, it might prove highly dangerous to substitute corps of Negroes, which would neither be equally respected by our sepoys nor feared by the enemy. A regiment of Negroes, however, would in all probability be as ex-

pensive as a regiment of Europeans, and would require equal care and attention ; while the difficulty of supplying food and provisions for such a corps would be equally great. On the other hand, the regiments of Negroes could not be employed in the subordinate duties of detail which render the sepoys so extremely useful and valuable ; and it would occasion much dissatisfaction to place the Negroes—a race held in abhorrence by the Mussulmans and Hindoos—in a superior condition to that of our native troops. The very term 'Negro' is, I believe, held in contempt by all Asiatics. But the feelings of the natives, particularly of the sepoys, towards European soldiers is entirely different. Led by a certain proportion of Europeans, our native troops are equal to any service." In another passage in the same letter from which these remarks are extracted, Lord Wellesley observes—"I entertain no doubt whatever that the natives of India would readily enter into the service of either the Crown or Company, on the condition of serving in the West Indies or at any distant stations :" an opinion fully justified by the expedition to the Red Sea, and, in later times, the expeditions to Affghanistan and to the Chinese empire.

In a voluminous letter written on the 25th of March, 1805, to Lord Castlereagh, Lord Wellesley earnestly expostulates with his Lordship on his hesitation in publicly expressing his approbation of the treaty with the Mahratta powers : "I cannot," he says "at the same time repress my disappointment and concern to find that any hesitation should have appeared on the part of your Lordship, in appreciating the merits of that great and glorious settlement upon the first receipt of

the authentic copies of the treaties. Nor can I imagine the grounds on which your Lordship rested any doubt of the justice, necessity or policy of the war, after the arrival in England of the dispatches transmitted by the *Belle* and *Waller* packets. The motives of the conduct of my personal enemies at the India House are sufficiently evident; and my expectations from that quarter are rather disappointed by any transient and momentary gleam of justice and reason, which may accidentally appear in the general tumult of personal prejudice and vindictive fury. But from your Lordship I confidently expect more comprehensive views of policy and early justice. Perhaps my long habits of familiar acquaintance with the affairs of this country may render objects clear and distinct to my comprehension, which may require explanation and illustration for the information of others. My situation, however, is, under such circumstances, become most painful and indeed dangerous,—exposed to the most severe responsibility and pressed by the constant and urgent necessity of acting for the security of this vast empire, upon the view of local exigencies, with limited means of exertion, with a certainty of the most indefatigable counteraction from the India House, and with a doubt of timely, effectual, or direct support from the Crown. In stating these embarrassments it is not my intention to complain of the disposition of your Lordship or of his Majesty's Ministers, but merely to state the plain facts of my situation arising from the apparent inability of his Majesty's Ministers to afford me adequate support, and the necessary result of such deficiency upon my conduct and upon the public service

in India. These considerations will, however, be more properly addressed to Mr. Pitt than to your Lordship, and I trust they will sufficiently apologise for my extreme solicitude to withdraw from India at the first practicable moment, although I entertain a full sense of the advantages which I could secure for my country in this quarter of the globe, if my prospects were more favourable and my hopes more auspicious in relation to support from home.

"I have the honour to forward by this opportunity a continuation of the Appendix to the Notes on Mahratta affairs, which has been recorded at Fort William, and printed for the use of the Court of Directors. That document, combined with the letter from the Governor-General (13th July) to the Secret Committee, and with the dispatch to the Secret Committee transmitted by the present conveyance, will, I trust, enable your Lordship to pass a final judgment on the late transactions in India, and to remove the injury which the public interests in India necessarily experience from the delay which has occurred in the transmission to India of the judgment of his Majesty's Ministers and of Parliament, on the justice of the late war and on the benefits of the peace.

"Your Lordship, I am convinced, will feel that such a judgment is become indispensable to the security of all our interests and relations in India, which have been shaken to the foundation by the state of ambiguity in which the whole system of our policy has been placed, under the suspension of the opinion of the Government at home to so late a period of time.

"My personal anxiety on this painful subject is

directed exclusively to the glory and safety of the British power in Asia and to the honour and interests of Mr. Pitt's administration, and especially of that branch entrusted to your Lordship's hands. These objects demand a speedy decision; but the conscious sense of arduous duty fulfilled to the utmost extent of my industry and labour, has satisfied every personal sentiment of my mind; in which no other desire now remains beyond the wish of enjoying the private esteem of your Lordship and of all my old friends, in that retirement, which is become the sole object and limits of all my pursuits."

In a letter to Lord Castlereagh,* the noble Marquess ridicules as groundless, unjust, and irrational, the complaints and alarms of the Court of Directors respecting the designs which they supposed Lord Wellesley entertained against their authority in India and their future existence; and declares his determination to state in Parliament, if called on, "his fixed conviction that the general foundation of the present system of the government of India, and of the constitution of the Company, must be *perpetuated* for the express purpose of maintaining our empire in India on its present enlarged scale; and that although improvement may be introduced in certain branches of control and administration, both at home and abroad, and into certain forms of the Executive Government, the basis cannot be placed with equal security on any other ground than that which now supports it."

* MS. dated May, 1805.

[Original *viâ* Bagdad ; Duplicate *viâ* Aleppo ; Triplicate by the *Teignmouth*.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL CAMDEN, K. G., &C.

(Official and Secret.)

" Fort William, 14th May, 1805.

" My Lord,

" I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter 'most secret' under the 29th of November, 1804, received at Fort William on the 2nd of May, 1805, by his Majesty's brig the *Harrier*.

" Your Lordship may rely on my employing every possible exertion to protect the British possessions in the East Indies against injury from the war with Spain, and to obey any orders which I may receive for the attack of the enemy's possessions in these seas.

" Your Lordship is fully apprised of the state of the European force in India, as well as of my sentiments with regard to the extent of the European military establishments, which I consider to be indispensably necessary for the security of this empire, both in time of peace and of war with France or any native state.

" I am satisfied, therefore, that his Majesty's Ministers will not fail to advert to the considerations which I have submitted to your Lordship of the 30th of January, 1805, whenever they may deem it to be necessary to order any attempt to be made on the possessions and resources of the enemy in this quarter of the globe. I have the honour to be, &c.,

" Wellesley."

In a letter of the 21st of May, 1805, Lord Wellesley writes to Lord Castlereagh, "My present hope is to be able to depart in August; the season is far from favourable, and I shall be subjected to the worst and most dangerous weather in entering the English Channel. But no consideration ought now to detain me in India, and any inconvenience or danger is preferable to this service."

In the same letter his Lordship urges upon Government the propriety of appointing Sir George Barlow as his successor in the office of Governor-General.

TO ROBERT PATTON, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF ST. HELENA.

(Private.)

"Fort William, 29th May, 1805.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you that having obtained the permission of the government in India to resign this government, and having understood that my successor will speedily be appointed from home, it is my intention to embark on board one of his Majesty's ships of war from this country as soon as the season may admit of my departure with safety.

"The general tranquillity of the Company's possessions, and the state of affairs in India, oppose no difficulty to my resignation of this charge, and my wish would be to embark, at the latest period of time, about the middle of August. I may, however, be enabled to leave India at an earlier period of time, and it is possible that I may embark about the end of the ensuing

month, or early in July. With a view to be prepared for either contingency, I have directed the *Phaeton* frigate to proceed to Calcutta for the purpose of conveying me to Europe, whenever I may deem it expedient to leave India.

"It is my intention to touch at the Island of St. Helena, and I shall be happy to have an opportunity of paying my personal respects to you.

"I shall reserve for a personal discussion the several points which have not been answered in my letters to you, and again beg leave to repeat the assurances of my cordial desire to comply with your wishes on every occasion which may be compatible with my public duty. With great respect and consideration, I am, &c.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

In the month of June, 1805, the weather at Calcutta was fearfully unfavourable. In one of his letters Lord Wellesley says—"You can scarcely imagine the difficulties which are opposed to the progress of the most ordinary business by the severity of the weather at this season, which is usually the period of the most violent heat, but which for some days past has been more dreadfully oppressive than at any former period of my residence in India. Within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants of these provinces no season of equal severity has been remembered, and I apprehend the most fatal effects upon the constitutions of the Europeans, unless it should be speedily relieved by a fall of rain."

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH* TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.†

"Bombay, 16th July, 1805.

"My Lord,

"The last packet with which I am honoured by your Lordship reminds me of the acknowledgments which I owe you for several proofs of goodness towards me. Your intention of placing me in the chair of ethics and jurisprudence in the College (according to its original wise and magnificent plan) is a mark of confidence and good opinion on which I shall always reflect with pride. Perhaps my judgment may be influenced by this flattering choice; perhaps I may be biassed by the prejudices of a man who overvalues those speculations to which he has devoted his life; but I

* Mackintosh gained great reputation by a course of Lectures on the *Law of Nature and Nations*, which he delivered in Lincoln's Inn Hall, about two years after he was called to the Bar. Thirty peers, double the number of commoners, and a crowd of the most learned and distinguished persons in the Metropolis attended the Lectures; and Fox, Melville, Addington, Canning, and Pitt, united in praise of the young lawyer. Mr. Pitt, writing to Mackintosh, said:—"I have no motive for wishing to flatter you; but I must be permitted to say that I have never met with anything so able and elegant in any language." In 1804, Sir James Mackintosh went out as Recorder of Bombay, and did not return to England till 1812. A few years after his return he was appointed to the Professorship of Law and General Politics in the College of Haileybury, a position which it appears from the above letter the Marquess Wellesley had designed him for in the College of Fort William. In 1830, Sir James Mackintosh was nominated a Commissioner for the affairs of India. One who knew Sir James well has said:—"When I turn from the living spectacles of stupidity, ignorance, and malice, and wish to think better of the world—I remember my great and benevolent friend Mackintosh."

† The original autograph MS. from which this letter is extracted is nearly illegible from damp.

own my opinion always has been that the defeat of your enlarged plan of education is the triumph of a very short-sighted policy, and that it will prove as injurious to the true interests of this great empire as to the improvement and diffusion of science and literature. The conception of so great an institution, and the benefits already resulting even from its partial execution, will long remain the monuments of an administration conducted on wise and generous principles. The recollection of what you have done, and what you attempted to do, will attend your Lordship to your native country ; and in the midst of the prosperity and honours which I hope await you there, you will never cease to remember with satisfaction that you endeavoured to provide the means of supplying well-principled, well-disciplined, and well-informed administrators for one of the most numerous societies of men upon earth.

"Your patronage of knowledge, and the confidence with which you have honoured me, encourage me to lay before you a project which cannot succeed, and indeed which ought not to be attempted, without the support of the supreme government of India. I have for some time been ambitious to undertake 'the History and Present State of the British Dominions in India.' That no tolerable work on this subject now exists, will be readily and universally acknowledged. Whoever now asks where he is to find the history of India, must be told to glean the scanty and imperfect knowledge of it from fifty volumes, the greater part of which are extremely uninteresting. This is a serious want for the education of young men for the civil, and even military,

service of the country. It will sometimes be felt by those who, in the highest stations both here and at home, are required by official duty to consider the political state of India. Even the speculator and the general reader have some right to complain that the English empire in Asia is almost as much unknown as if it were a dependency of the most ignorant and incurious country in Europe. And I hope that a fair statement of our internal and foreign administration would correct many unfavourable notions of our national policy in the East.

"My principle in the composition of such a work would be that on which every work of literature must be founded. I should be guided in the selection of facts and the expansion of narrative by the consideration of what would interest the majority of those who read history with some degree of understanding and pleasure. The naturalist, the philologist, the antiquarian must seek for information about their respective pursuits in books which are professedly destined for them. In history, which is adapted to the body of reading men, no more of these subjects ought to be introduced than can be made intelligible and agreeable to them. This principle coincides with a regard to the instruction of the young servants of Government. It excludes what they will not relish, and therefore will not learn.

"The curiosity of learned Englishmen has hitherto been directed rather to the antiquities, than either to the certain history or present condition of India. By great labour they have built up systems, not perhaps very impregnable against the attacks of criticism.

What little in their systems is probable (for nothing is certain) ought to find a place in history suited to its real importance. But the far greater part must be dismissed by the historian, as too uncertain and too unimportant to deserve his notice. History receives no facts without reasonable evidence. It dwells on none of which the narrative has no practical use. Both these reasons exclude the greater part of Indian antiquities. The latter reason abridges great part of that mere ascertained history, which relates to the obscure and insignificant revolutions of Indian states, which agree in their general character with those which are already known, which furnish no new conclusions of political science, and no new rules for the conduct of statesmen.

" The exclusion of what is uncertainly known, (if known at all,) and what it is useless to know, greatly facilitates the undertaking, which is indeed chiefly formidable from those *difficiles nugæ* which have been supposed to form a necessary part of it, and which do indeed require a labour and knowledge almost as great as their results are inconsiderable. Your Lordship will also observe, that the admission of antiquarian researches is not more incompatible with the utility and the popularity than with the elegance, the dignity, and the classical character of history. You are, indeed, so familiar with the rules and models of historical composition, that it is impertinent to enlarge on them to you.

" But the work even thus contracted, and facilitated by the exclusion of what is uncertain, and by the abridgment of what is uninteresting, cannot be executed without great assistance from Government. A

mere compilation from printed books is a task which I should leave to others. What I am desirous therefore of knowing is, whether I may hope for the countenance of the Supreme Government so far that orders will be issued to all the subordinate governments, and to all the civil and military servants, to transmit answers to me to such list of queries as I should send to the Secretary at Calcutta, to be by him distributed over the British dominions in India. By this means I might hope to accumulate valuable materials of various sorts, especially statistical, which, in my opinion, would be the most important of any, because they would furnish the means of applying principles of political economy to the condition of this country. The statistical and economical inquiries are, more than any other, directly subservient to the practical convenience of administration.

"I own I should with more pleasure recur to the approbation and patronage of a lettered Governor, than the cold formal sanction of those who felt no respect for my pursuits, and to whom I should never have thought of communicating my plans if accident had not placed them in a situation of authority.

"For this reason I should certainly be ambitious that such an order were the act of your Lordship's government, and if it were combined with a recommendation to your successor, I have no doubt it would produce the aid which I desire.

"I know not whether I ought to consider the projected work of Mr. Bruce as an objection which I ought to obviate. It is, indeed, patronised and recommended by the Court of Directors. But I only ask the

means of fair competition which an honourable rival ought not himself to refuse, and which his patrons do not therefore seem bound to withhold, or even justified for withholding.

"I have encroached too long on your Lordship's leisure, and I hasten to conclude with the most hearty wishes for your Lordship's safe and agreeable voyage to England, and with most sincerely assuring you that I have the honour to be, your Lordship's most obliged and faithful humble servant, JAMES MACKINTOSH."

CHAPTER XV.

Return of Marquess Wellesley to England, January, 1806.—Illness of Mr. Pitt.—Unpopularity of the Administration.—Mr. Pitt writes to Lord Wellesley asking him to meet him at Putney Hill.—Memoranda of Mr. Wilberforce, showing the close Intimacy that had subsisted between the Earl of Mornington and Mr. Pitt.—Anecdote respecting Lord Wellesley's Last Visit to his Friend.—Remarks on the Public Character of Mr. Pitt.—Letter of Marquess Wellesley to Mr. Wilberforce on this Subject.—Mr. Pitt's Private Life misunderstood, and grossly misrepresented.—The Popular Ideas respecting Mr. Pitt's Character.—Wraxall's Statements examined.—Letters of Lady Jane Dundas and Duchess of Gordon quoted.—Letter of Lady Melville describing Pitt's Farming.—Authorities in support of her Ladyship's Letter.—Lady Hester Stanhope and Mr. Wilberforce.—Pitt proved to be a most Amiable and Virtuous Man in Private Life.—Essay on the Character of Pitt by the Marquess Wellesley.—Observations of John Gifford, Esq., in his "Life of Pitt" respecting Mr. Pitt's Opinion of Lord Wellesley.—Letter from India respecting a Pipe of Madeira sent by Lord Wellesley from Calcutta to Mr. Pitt.—Doubtful whether the Minister received it.—Lady Hester Stanhope's Assertions respecting Mr. Pitt's Religious Feelings.—Opposite Testimony of Marquess Wellesley and Mr. Wilberforce.—Observations on this Point.

On the return of the Marquess Wellesley to England in January, 1806, he found Mr. Pitt almost at the point of death. Mr. Pitt had been one of Lord Wellesley's dearest and most intimate friends; and, as may be gathered from the preceding chapters of these Memoirs, his Lordship warmly approved of this great man's policy respecting the war with France. The administration, of which Mr. Pitt was the animating soul, had at this time sunk, it was supposed irrecoverably, in

public opinion; even the victory of Trafalgar, in October, 1805, could not procure for it the respect or confidence of the country. The revelations brought to light during the impeachment of Lord Melville, tended to destroy their reputation for integrity; for if they were not peculators themselves, they were generally regarded as abettors and defenders of peculation. Lord Hawkesbury* was the only man in the Administration that had any pretensions to lead a cabinet. The Marquess Wellesley, immediately after his arrival in town, wrote to Mr. Pitt;† and the Minister, then rapidly sinking, at once addressed the following note to his Lordship, inviting him to meet him at Putney Hill. It was one of the last letters Mr. Pitt ever wrote:—

"My dear Wellesley,

"On my arrival here last night, I received, with inexpressible pleasure, your most friendly and affectionate letter. If I was not strongly advised to keep out of London till I have acquired a little more

* Afterwards the Earl of Liverpool.

† The following interesting memoranda in Mr. Wilberforce's journal will show how close an intimacy subsisted between Lord Wellesley (at this period Earl of Mornington) and Mr. Pitt:—

"A meeting at Pitt's about the Sedition Bill, after which supped with him and Mornington—my advice—Pitt's language. 'My head would be off in six months were I to resign.'

"28th of December, 1790. Dined at Grenville's—Pitt—Pakenham—Lord-Lieutenant Westmoreland—P. Arden—Mornington Gave Pitt a serious word or two.

"1793. Pitt on politics—discussing—Ryder, Steel, and Mornington—till ten at night—they too violent.

"1793. To Town on business. Pitt asked me to dine with Lord C. Conway and grandees: I pondered, and went—Dundas, Hawkesbury, Chatham, Grenville, Mornington, &c., there.—Dined March 21st at R. Smith's—(met) Pitt for the first time since our political difference—I

strength, I would have come up immediately, for the purpose of seeing you at the first possible moment. As it is, I am afraid I must trust to your goodness to give me the satisfaction of seeing you here, the first hour you can spare for that purpose. If you can without inconvenience make it about the middle of the day (in English style, between two and four), it would suit me rather better than any other time; but none can be inconvenient.

"I am recovering rather slowly from a series of stomach complaints, followed by severe attacks of gout, but I believe I am now in the way of real amendment.—Ever, most truly and affectionately, yours,

"W. Pitt."

Lord Brougham, in his sketches of the statesmen of the reign of George III., mentions the following anecdote respecting the last interview between the Noble Marquess and Mr. Pitt, in the village on Putney Heath, where Mr. Pitt died a few days subsequently:—"Lord Wellesley called upon me there many years after; it was then occupied by my brother-in-law, Mr. Eden, whom

think both meaning to be kind to each other—both a little embarrassed—Dined, he says, shortly after at Bob Smith's to meet James Grenville, Mornington, &c. They attacked on politics, and J. Grenville declared I was right, unless believing, as he did, that Ministry were determined to make peace whenever they could with the present French Government.

"1793, September 18th. To Town on business. Pitt asked me to dine with Lord C. Conway and grandees; I pondered, and, approving, went—Dundas, Hawkesbury, Chatham, Grenville, Mornington, &c. Slept at Pitt's—he very kind.

"1796. Morning walked with Pitt. Heard part of Mornington's speech on Seditious Assemblies, and the other bill. Next morning to town—*tête à tête* with Pitt—he very kind, open, and fair about peace, and I think wise too."

I was visiting. His Lordship showed me the place where these illustrious friends sat. Mr. Pitt was, he said, much emaciated, *but retained his gaiety and constitutionally sanguine disposition:* he expressed confident hopes of recovery. In the adjoining room he lay a corpse the ensuing week."

On the public character and policy of Mr. Pitt, the world is now pretty generally agreed. His eloquence was logical and commanding, though inferior to the fervid rhetoric of his great parent. He was unquestionably a statesman of fine capacity and admirable administrative talents, and was eminently fitted for 'piloting' this country through the 'storm' of the French Revolution. His vigorous measures were well calculated to conduce to the consolidation of the power of this empire, and the maintenance of the maritime supremacy of England. But he was surrounded by second-rate, sordid, and disreputable men, for whose vices he was held responsible, and whose lavish prodigality, meanness, and tyranny tarnished his renown. The atrocities which preceded his measure of the Union (which prudent conciliation and seasonable vigour might have prevented), his desertion of the cause of Reform, the employment of spies and informers, the improper expenditure of the public revenue and distribution of honours, his restrictions on the liberty of the press, prosecutions for miscalled treasonable offences, and other coercive measures, tend to counterbalance the brilliant events of his memorable administration, and the many important advantages he conferred on this kingdom.

LORD WELLESLEY TO WM. WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

" Park Lane, January 24th, 1806.

" My dear Wilberforce,

" I have been so distressed for some days by the dreadful calamity which has befallen upon us, that I have not had spirits sufficient to enable me either to call upon you, or to write to you. But I am sincerely and warmly sensible of your kindness, and of the particular cordiality of your very friendly and affectionate note, to which, perhaps, I could scarcely plead a claim after so long an apparent neglect of the kind letters which I received from you in India. I trusted, however, much to your candour and justice, expecting that you would make great allowances for the extreme labour of my public situation, which for the last three years scarcely left me time even to write to my family, and obliged me to renounce all private correspondence.

" I am extremely anxious to have the pleasure of seeing you, and of renewing our old friendship, which I assure you I have retained in full force. When we meet, we shall have many melancholy events to deplore, and many dear friends to regret. But we must endeavour to discharge our duty towards our country with fortitude and perseverance, and to remedy what we could not prevent I know nothing of public arrangements, and all the reports in the newspapers respecting myself are utterly groundless. To you I think it my duty to declare that the memory of my ever-to-be-lamented friend will always be the primary object of my veneration and attachment in public life, but that I will never lend my hand to sustain any

system of administration, evidently inadequate to the difficulties and danger of the crisis. I shall be most happy to labour in any way which may promise advantage to the public service ; but having no personal object of pursuit, I shall not easily be deluded from the solemn conviction of my mind, that our recent loss cannot be repaired, nor our imminent perils be averted, otherwise than by an union of the approved talents and highest characters of the nation.

" I hope you will appoint an hour for meeting me, either at your own house or here, when I shall be most happy to obey your commands, and to satisfy you that I remain, my dear Wilberforce, ever yours most affectionately and sincerely, WELLESLEY."

The private character of Mr. Pitt has been generally misunderstood and has been grossly misrepresented. His nature, it was said, was cold, proud and contemptuous,—having little sympathy either with the ordinary vices and weaknesses, or with the better feelings and enjoyments of his fellow men. Strange perversion!—as the testimony of the Marquess Wellesley and of others, whose letters are included in these volumes, will prove.

Sir N. W. Wraxall, Bart., has drawn the following repulsive portrait of Lord Wellesley's illustrious friend :—

" Pitt's manners were stiff, retired, without unction or grace. Fox found room in his bosom for many pursuits besides ambition and thirst of glory. History and poetry each attracted, soothed, and delighted him. Pitt was always a minister, or aspiring and meditating to become a minister. Nature had intended him for the cabinet, and for no other situation. Fox, at his retreat on St. Ann's Hill, could derive amusement from his garden, from his library, from conversation, in a variety

of domestic or literary avocations. But Pitt, when compelled, from 1801 to 1804, to reside during many months of each year in solitary grandeur with Lady Hester Stanhope, at Walmer Castle, listening to the waves of the German ocean, while Addington, whom he had raised from comparative obscurity to the highest offices, filled his vacant seat;—Pitt only supported life by the anticipation of his speedy return to power. On that object, and on that object alone, was his mind constantly fixed. During his exile from Downing Street to the Kentish shore, a period of nearly three years, he underwent all the torments of mortified ambition. I saw him frequently at that time, and his countenance always seemed to say,—

> 'Existence may be borne, and the deep root
> Of life and sufferance make its firm abode
> In *bare and desolate bosoms*.'

"I know from persons who had most frequent access to Pitt's private hours, that after 1793, down to his decease in January, 1806, he scarcely enjoyed any settled tranquillity of mind, either in or out of office. Devoured by ambition, accustomed to dictate his will to Parliament, and habituated to power ever since he had attained to manhood; incapable of finding consolation for the loss of public employment, either in marriage or in literary researches, or in cultivating his Kentish farm, or in drilling refractory Cinque Port volunteers."

In a confidential letter from Lady Jane Dundas to the Marquess Wellesley, dated from Wimbledon, April 1801, inserted in the present volume,* it will be seen that her Ladyship (who had the very best possible means of observing Mr. Pitt's conduct in retirement, and who communicated her sentiments under the seal of friendship) supplies a direct negative to one portion of Sir William Wraxall's statement.—'Mr. Pitt is perfectly well and in better spirits than most other people, or any of his friends,' &c. The Duchess of Gordon,† a lady of great vivacity and discrimination, writing to the Marquess Wellesley, does not describe Mr. Pitt as the unsocial being that has been depicted

* *Vide* vol. ii. p. 228.

† *Vide* vol. i. p. 359

by envious contemporaries.—'I left your friend and mine, Le Premier, in better health and spirits than I have seen him for some years.' As ladies proverbially are acute observers of character, the subjoined letter from Lady Melville, now first printed, will have some additional weight in dispelling the calumnies and prejudices that obscure the amiable character of the Right Honourable William Pitt:—

LADY MELVILLE TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"London, 23rd March, 1803.

"My dear Lord,

"Captain Robertson, who is the bearer of this, and a friend of ours, sails immediately for Bengal, and as he thinks he has a chance of sailing again for England about the time of your quitting India, he is very desirous of having the advantage of your being his passenger. I shall be very glad of the accommodation and all other circumstances that should happen for Captain Robertson's sake to be what suits you.

"Lord Melville is at Walmer Castle, and writes me a very satisfactory account of Mr. Pitt's health and spirits. Says he had seen his farm, his ploughs going, and all his fat hogs. Shall you know him in this new character?

"We are just come from Scotland, and I find the town full of influenza, (*la grippe*, as it is called,) and in some danger of going to war again; at least, there seems to be but one opinion as to the propriety of arming the country and manning the fleets. Would that we had not been in such haste to disarm!—the

threat of invasion, I think, would not now be held over our heads.

"I beg you will make my kind compliments to Mr. Wellesley. Believe me, my dear Lord, yours most sincerely, J. MELVILLE."

Sir William Wraxall has asserted that Mr. Pitt* took no pleasure in objects of taste, and could derive no enjoyment from rural occupations. Before we bring forward Lord Wellesley's spirited vindication of the character of his departed friend, it may be as well to quote one or two authorities in support of Lady Melville's interesting letter.

* The following passages from the recently published Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope corroborate the statements respecting Mr. Pitt, incidentally made by the Duchess of Gordon and Lady Melville :—

"He had so much urbanity, too! I recollect returning late from a ball, when he was gone to bed fatigued; there were others besides myself, and we made a good deal of noise. I said to him next morning, 'I am afraid we disturbed you last night.' 'Not at all,' he replied; 'I was dreaming of the *Mask of Comus*, Hester, and when I heard you all so gay, it seemed a pleasant reality.' * * * *

"Mr. Pitt's consideration for age was very marked. He had, exclusive of Walmer, a house in the village for the reception of those whom the castle would not hold. If a respectable commoner, advanced in years, and a young Duke arrived at the same time, and there happened to be but one room vacant at the Castle, he would be sure to assign it to the senior; 'for it is better,' he would say, 'that these young lords should walk home on a rainy night than old men; they can bear it more easily.'

"Mr. Pitt was accustomed to say that he always conceived more favourably of that man's understanding who talked agreeable nonsense than of his who talked sensibly only; for the latter might come from books and study, while the former could only be the natural fruit of imagination.

"Mr. Pitt was never inattentive to what was passing around him, though he often thought proper to appear so. On one occasion Sir Edward K—— took him to the Ashford ball to show him off to the yeomen and their wives. Though sitting in the room in all his senator-

Mr. Wilberforce, in his diary, 1798, makes the following note :—"Called on Pitt at Holwood. *Tête à tête* with Pitt, and much political talk. He much better—improved in habits also—*beautifying his place with great taste*—marks of ingenuousness and integrity. Resenting and spurning the bigoted fury of Irish Protestants."*

Mr. Wilberforce again says, in his diary of 1802 :—"*Pitt called, and had spent a day and a quarter at Sir Charles Middleton's—going there to study farming. Sir Charles astonished at his wonderful sagacity, and power of combining and reasoning out. Says he is the best gentleman farmer he, Sir Charles, knows, and may be the best farmer in England.*"

So much for Mr. Pitt's taste, and for his love of agricultural recreations. Here is a memorandum, which certainly does not bear out the popular idea that Mr. Pitt was naturally of a morose and disdainful disposition :—"1780. He was the wittiest man I ever knew,

ial seriousness, he contrived to observe everything; and nobody" (Lady Hester said) "could give a more lively account of a ball than he. He told who was rather fond of a certain captain; how Mrs. K—— was dressed; how Miss Jones, Miss Johnson, or Miss Anybody danced; and had all the minutiæ of the night as if he had been no more than an idle looker on.

"When Mr. Pitt was at Walmer he recovered his health prodigiously. He used to go to a farm near Walmer, where hay and corn were kept for the horses. He had a room fitted up there with a table and two or three chairs, where he used to write sometimes, and a tidy woman to dress him something to eat. Oh! what slices of bread and butter I have seen him eat there, and hunches of bread and cheese big enough for a ploughman. . . . . Nobody ever knew or estimated Mr. Pitt's character rightly. His views were abused and confounded with the narrow projects of men who could never comprehend them."

* The reader will not lose sight of this remark. Mr. Pitt was no bigot, and, we believe, sincerely desired to alleviate the condition of the Roman Catholics.

and, what was quite peculiar to himself, had at all times his wit under entire control. Others appeared struck by the unwonted association of brilliant images; but every possible combination of ideas seemed always present to his mind, and he could at once produce whatever he desired. I was one of those who met to spend an evening in memory of Shakspeare, at the Boar's Head, East Cheap. Many professed wits were present, but Pitt was the most amusing of the party, and the readiest and most apt in the required allusions. He entered with the same energy into all our different amusements. We played a good deal at Goostree's, and I well remember the intense earnestness which he displayed when joining in those games of chance. He perceived their increasing fascination, and soon after suddenly abandoned them for ever." *

The controversy respecting Mr. Pitt's private character will, however, perhaps, be set at rest by the decisive testimony of Lord Wellesley, in the following beautiful essay, written in a private letter to a friend :— †

"* * * * * * * — In attempting to convey to you my recollection of Mr. Pitt's character in private society, I cannot separate those qualities which raised him to the highest public eminence from those which rendered him a most amiable companion. Both proceeded from the same origin, and both were happily blended in the noble structure of his temper and disposition.

"Mr. Pitt's mind was naturally inaccessible to any

* Wilberforce.

† This letter appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. lvii.

approach of dark, or low, or ignoble passion. His commanding genius and magnanimous spirit were destined to move in a region far above the reach of those jealousies, and suspicions, and animosities, which disturb the course of ordinary life. Under the eye of his illustrious father he had received that 'complete and generous education which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.'

"Such an education, acting on such a natural disposition, not only qualified him to adorn the most elevated stations in the counsels of his country, but furnished him with abundant resources to sustain the tranquillity and cheerfulness of his mind.

"He had received regular and systematic instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, and in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and in every branch of general ecclesiastical history. His knowledge in those subjects was accurate and extensive. He was completely armed against all sceptical assaults, as well as against all fanatical illusion; and, in truth, he was not merely a faithful and dutiful, but a learned member of our Established Church; to which he was most sincerely attached, with the most charitable indulgence for all dissenting sects.

"No doubt can exist in any rational mind that this early and firm settlement of his religious opinions and principles was a main cause of that cheerful equanimity which formed the great characteristic of his social intercourse, and which was never affected by adversities nor troubles.

"He was perfectly accomplished in classical litera-

ture, both Latin and Greek. The accuracy and strength of his memory surpassed every example which I have observed; but the intrinsic vigour of his understanding carried him far beyond the mere recollection of the great models of Antiquity in Oratory, Poetry, History, and Philosophy: he had drawn their essence into his own thoughts and language; and, with astonishing facility, he applied the whole spirit of ancient learning to his daily use.

"Those studies were his constant delight and resort: at Holwood, in Kent (his favourite residence), and at Walmer Castle, his apartments were strewed with Latin and Greek classics; and his conversation with those friends who delighted in similar studies frequently turned on that most attractive branch of literature; but he was so averse to pedantry or affectation of superior knowledge, that he carefully abstained from such knowledge in the presence of those who could not take pleasure in them. In these pursuits, his constant and congenial companion was Lord Grenville, who has often declared to me that Mr. Pitt was the *best Greek scholar* he ever conversed with. Mr. Pitt was also as complete a master of all English literature as he was undoubtedly of the English language. I have dwelt on this branch of Mr. Pitt's accomplishments because I know not any source from which more salutary assistance can be derived, to chase from the spirits those clouds and vapours which infest vacant minds, and, by self-weariness, render retirement melancholy and intolerable.

"But Mr. Pitt amply possessed every resource which could enliven retirement. No person had a more ex-

quisite sense of the beauties of the country. He took the greatest delight in his residence at Holwood, which he enlarged and improved (it may be truly said) with his own hands. Often have I seen him working in his woods and gardens with his labourers for whole days together, undergoing considerable bodily fatigue, and with so much eagerness and assiduity, that you would suppose the cultivation of his villa to be the principal occupation of his life.

"He was very fond of exercise on horseback, and when in the country frequently joined the hounds of his neighbourhood, both at Holwood and Walmer Castle.

"At the latter place he lived most hospitably, entertaining all his neighbours, as well as the officers of the neighbouring garrisons and of the ships in the Downs; and he was most attentive to his duties of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which called him frequently to Dover, and sometimes to the other ports.

"But in all places, and at all times, his constant delight was society. There he shone with a degree of calm and steady lustre which often astonished me more than his most splendid efforts in Parliament. His manners were perfectly plain, without any affectation. Not only was he without presumption or arrogance, or any air of authority, but he seemed utterly unconscious of his own superiority, and much more disposed to listen than to talk. He never betrayed any symptom of anxiety to usurp the lead or to display his own powers, but rather inclined to draw forth others, and to take merely an equal share in the general conversation; then, he plunged heedlessly into the

mirth of the hour, with no other care than to promote the general good humour and happiness of the company. His wit was quick and ready; but it was rather lively than sharp, and never envenomed with the least taint of malignity: so that, instead of exciting admiration or terror, it was an additional ingredient in the common enjoyment. He was endowed, beyond any man of his time whom I knew, with a gay heart and a social spirit. With these qualities he was the life and soul of his own society; his appearance dispelled all care; his brow was never clouded, even in the severest public trials; and joy, and hope, and confidence, beamed from his countenance in every crisis of difficulty and danger.

"He was a most affectionate, indulgent, and benevolent friend, and so easy of access that all his acquaintance, in any embarrassment, would rather resort to him for advice than to any person who might be supposed to have more leisure. His heart was always at leisure to receive the communications of his friends, and always open to give the best advice in the most gentle and pleasant manner.

"It is a melancholy, but a grateful task, to pay this tribute to the memory of my departed friend. 'Aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit'—or the character which I have endeavoured to draw is not less just and true than it is amiable and excellent; and I cannot resist the conclusion that a pure and clear conscience must have been the original source of such uniform cheerfulness and gaiety of spirit. The truth which I have asserted I possessed ample means of knowing. From the year 1783 to 1797 I lived in

habits of the most confidential friendship with Mr. Pitt.

"In the year 1797 I was appointed Governor-General of India, and in the month of September in that year I went to Walmer Castle to meet Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and to receive my last instructions. I found Mr. Pitt in the highest spirits, entertaining officers and country gentlemen with his usual hospitality. Amongst others, Admiral Duncan was his constant and favourite guest. His fleet was then in the Downs, preparing for the memorable victory of Camperdown. The Admiral was a lively and jovial companion, and seemed to be quite delighted with Mr. Pitt's society. I embarked for India early in the month of November, 1797, and I returned to England in January, 1806.

"Not wishing to state anything beyond my own personal knowledge, I will not attempt to relate the history of Mr. Pitt's social habits during the period of my absence; but I cannot believe that, during that time, the whole frame of his magnificent mind had been so broken and disjointed, that he could not endure the temporary loss of power, nor reconcile himself to that retirement and to those recreations which were his relief from the labour of official business, and his consolation in the hour of political solicitude and care. But I know that the first summer after his resignation was passed with Mr. Addington at Wimbledon, and that soon afterwards Mr. Pitt was closely occupied at Walmer Castle in forming a corps of volunteer cavalry, living with his officers, and passing the greater part of his time on horseback, under the firm expectation of a French invasion. This does not

well agree with the story which represents him wrapped in sullen seclusion, sunk in despondency, shunning all society, and yet unable to relieve the gloom of solitude by any mental resource.

"On my arrival in England, in January, 1806, Mr. Pitt was at Bath. I wrote to him, and I received from him a very kind invitation to meet him at Putney Hill. It may interest you to see this, one of the latest letters Mr. Pitt ever wrote, and I therefore subjoin a copy. I met him accordingly, in the second week in January, and I was received by him with his usual kindness and good humour. His spirits appeared to be as high as I had ever seen them, and his understanding quite as vigorous and clear.

"Amongst other topics, he told me with great kindness and feeling that, since he had seen me, he had been happy to become acquainted with my brother Arthur, of whom he spoke in the warmest terms of commendation. He said, 'I never met any military officer with whom it was so satisfactory to converse: he states every difficulty before he undertakes any service, but none after he has undertaken it.'

"But notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's kindness and cheerfulness, I saw that the hand of death was fixed upon him. This melancholy truth was not known nor believed by either his friends or opponents. In the number of the latter, to my deep affliction, I found my highly-respected and esteemed friend Lord Grenville, and I collected that measures of the utmost hostility to Mr. Pitt were to be proposed in both Houses at the meeting of Parliament.

"I warned Lord Grenville of Mr. Pitt's approaching

death. He received the fatal intelligence with the utmost feeling, in an agony of tears, and immediately determined that all hostility in Parliament should be suspended. Mr. Pitt's death soon followed.

"If any additional evidence were required of the excellence of his social character, it would be found abundantly in the deep sorrow of a most numerous class of independent, honest, and sincerely attached friends, who wept over the loss of his benevolent and affectionate temper and disposition, with a degree of heartfelt grief, which no political sentiment could produce. Many of these were assembled at the sad ceremony of his funeral. With them I paid the last offices to his honoured memory. We attended him to Westminster Abbey; there the grave of his illustrious father was opened to receive him, and we saw his remains deposited on the coffin of his venerated parent. What grave contains such a father and such a son? What sepulchre embosoms the remains of so much human excellence and glory?—Always yours, faithfully and sincerely, WELLESLEY."

Mr. Wilberforce was not a man likely to bear false witness. What can possibly be more decided in favour of the amiable and virtuous character of Mr. Pitt than the following?—

"1793. I think you have spoken very uncandidly of Mr. Pitt's motives and general principles of action. Now I believe you will give me credit for not being an idolatrous admirer of Mr. Pitt, though bound to him in the bonds of private friendship. I will talk of him freely and impartially. Faults he has,—as who

is free from them ?—but I most solemnly assure you that I am convinced, if the flame of pure disinterested patriotism burns in any human bosom, it does in his. I am convinced, and that on long experience and close observation, that in order to benefit his country he would give up not a situation merely, and emolument, but what in his case is much more—personal credit and reputation,—though he knew that no human being would ever become acquainted with the sacrifice he should have made, and record the patriotic gift in the pages of history. I could run on here, but I will check myself. I will only add, that I never met with any man of talent who would so fairly discuss political measures, so honestly ask advice, and so impartially consider it. Believe me, who am pretty well acquainted with our public men, that he has not his equal for integrity, as well as ability, in the 'primores' of either House of Parliament. I am almost ashamed of having been drawn into this long panegyric ; but I will not burn it : it is the language of the heart, and as such will be acceptable."

In a letter dated 1798, Mr. Wilberforce writes to a friend :—"I will, however, declare my solemn conviction, that you greatly injure Mr. Pitt by the opinion you entertain of him ; and it is my deliberate judgment, formed on much experience and close observation, that he has more disinterested patriotism and a purer mind than almost (I scarce need say almost) any man, not under the influence of Christian principles, I ever knew. That he has weaknesses and faults I freely confess ; but a want of ardent zeal for the public welfare, and of the strictest love of truth,

are not, I believe, as God shall judge me, of the number. I speak not this from the partiality of personal affection. In fact, for several years past, there has been so little of the *eadem velle* and *eadem nolle*, that our friendship has starved for want of nutriment. I really love him for his public qualities, and his private ones, though there too he is much misunderstood. But how can I expect he should love me much, who have been so long rendering myself, in various ways, vexatious to him ?—and above all, when, poor fellow ! he never schools his mind by a cessation from political ruminations—the most blinding, hardening, and souring of all others."—The same great philanthropist, in reviewing the conduct of Mr. Pitt respecting Africa, remarked to a private friend :—"It is for this that Pitt was made eloquent, and great, and (if you will) virtuous, all that a man can be who is not religious !"*

John Gifford, Esq., in his "Life of Pitt," A.D. 1809, speaks of the Marquess Wellesley as "a nobleman who may justly be considered as the *first statesman* of the present day."—And again, as "a nobleman who, during an arduous administration of seven years, extended the territory, enlarged the resources, and confirmed the security of the British Empire ; who by wise and salutary regulations, adapted to the genius, the manners, and the habits of the people, meliorated their condition, and opened to them the sources of comfort and happiness ; who subdued, with apparent facility, difficulties from which an ordinary mind would have

* The reader will not fail to recollect the high religious standard maintained by the author of the "Practical View of Christianity."

shrunk with dismay; who amidst the bustle and anxieties of war and the multiplied obstacles interposed by ignorant and interested opponents, erected a noble establishment for the advancement of religious, scientific, and literary knowledge; *and who by his whole conduct justified the opinion which Mr. Pitt entertained of him, and the confidence which he reposed in him.*"

"Wait 'till Mornington comes from India, and then we shall know something!" was an observation once made by Mr. Pitt,—which proves the extent of the reliance which he placed upon the soundness of his Lordship's opinions, the accuracy of his powers of observation, and the extent of his information.

The following letter is among the Marquess Wellesley's MSS.:—

TO SCROPE BERNARD, ESQ.

"Calcutta, 20th March, 1804.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Marquess Wellesley to acquaint you that a pipe of Madeira, destined for Mr. Pitt, has been shipped on board the Hon. Company's ship *Preston*, consigned to the care of Mr. Charles Raikes, who will clear it out and deliver it to Mr. Pitt.* He has been instructed to draw upon you

* The following remarks by Lady Hester Stanhope raise a doubt whether Mr. Pitt ever tasted Lord Wellesley's Madeira. "Never," remarks this eccentric lady, speaking of Mr. Pitt, with perhaps a slight dash of Syrian hyperbole:—"Never was there such a disinterested man; he invariably refused every bribe, *and declined every present that was offered to him. Those which came to him from abroad he left to rot in the Custom-house*; *and some of his servants, after quitting his service,*

for the amount of any expenses which may attend the landing of the pipe of Madeira ; and I am directed to request you to answer his draft, and place the amount to Lord Wellesley's account. I have the honour to be, &c. M. Shaw.

"Private Secretary."

Lady Hester Stanhope, speaking of Mr. Pitt's religious sentiments, makes the following remark :—

"What should Mr. Pitt make such a speech for, who never went to church in his life? Nothing prevented his going to church when he was at Walmer ; but he never even talked about religion, and never brought it upon the carpet."

Lord Wellesley gives us rather a different view of Mr. Pitt's character. Lady Hester Stanhope was certainly in error. Mr. Wilberforce frequently mentions that he had private conversations with his friend on the subject of religion ; the fact of Mr. Pitt's being at least *once* at church in the country is on record :—

"July 6, 1783. Sunday, Wimbledon. Persuaded Pitt and Pepper to church."*

That Mr. Pitt's life was marked by such piety as added dignity to Hale and other illustrious men as conspicuous for their exalted religious feelings as for their intellectual prowess, is not, nor cannot with truth, be affirmed ; but it is equally certain, that he was by no means so callous or indifferent on the awful

knowing he never inquired about them any more, went and claimed things of this sort ; for Mr. Pitt would read the letter, and think no more about it. I could name those who have pictures hanging in their rooms, pictures by Flemish masters, of great value, procured in this way."

* Wilberforce.

subject of a future life as has been asserted. Here curiosity must pause ——

"Where—taming thought to human pride—
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side,*
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,—
'T will trickle to his rival's bier:
O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
The solemn echo seems to cry—
'Here let their discord with them die.'
Speak not for those a separate doom,
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb;
But search the land of living men,
Where wilt thou find their like again?"

---

* The grave of Mr. Fox, in Westminster Abbey, is within eighteen inches of that of Mr. Pitt.

CHAPTER XVI.

Lord Hawkesbury declines to form a Ministry.—Grenville and Fox's Administration.—King George III. quarrels with his Ministers.—The Portland Administration.—The King invites the Marquess Wellesley to join the Cabinet.—Lord Wellesley declines his Majesty's offer.—The Expedition to Copenhagen.—Seizure of the Danish Fleet while Denmark was at Peace with England.—The Justice and Lawfulness of the Proceeding questioned.—Elaborate Defence of the Policy of the Expedition made by the Marquess Wellesley in the House of Lords.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, the Ministry, of which he was the head, was dissolved. Lord Hawkesbury accepted the vacant sinecure office of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, but declined the task of guiding the Cabinet.

It will be seen from Lord Wellesley's letter to Mr. Wilberforce, in the preceding chapter, that his name was mentioned at this period in the rumours relative to the new ministerial arrangements; but his Lordship scrupulously kept aloof from all parties.

The Grenville and Fox Ministry, including Lord Sidmouth and the Earl of Ellenborough, succeeded, and was honourably distinguished during its brief career, for sincere efforts to conclude a solid peace with France, and to promote the amelioration of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

King George the Third, having quarrelled with his Ministers in the month of March, 1807, on the Catholic

question, entrusted to the Duke of Portland the task of forming a ministry.* His Majesty invited the Marquess Wellesley to join the new Administration, but his Lordship declined accepting office while the charges preferred against him by Mr. Paull were pending, and took no part in the events connected with the expulsion of the Whigs.

The expedition to Copenhagen under General Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier in September, 1807, was an act of unexampled daring; and by those who deny that even the towering ambition of Buonaparte, in the most eventful crisis of our national history, could justify a violent departure from the rules of justice and good faith, it is still denounced as an act of unprincipled aggression, and an open infraction of the

* Duke of Portland . .	First Lord of the Treasury.
Mr. Perceval . . .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Westmoreland .	Lord Privy Seal.
Mr. Canning . . .	Foreign Secretary.
Lord Hawkesbury . .	Home Secretary.
Lord Castlereagh . .	Colonial Secretary.
Lord Eldon	Lord Chancellor.
Earl Chatham . . .	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Earl Camden . . .	President of the Council.
Lord Mulgrave . . .	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Bathurst . . .	President of the Board of Trade.
Mr. Dundas . . .	President of the Indian Board.
Mr. G. Rose . . .	Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir Vicary Gibbs . .	Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plumer . .	Solicitor-General.
Duke of Richmond . .	Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.
Sir Arthur Wellesley . .	Chief Secretary.
Mr. Foster . . .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Manners . . .	Lord-Chancellor.

Mr. Wellesley Pole was Secretary of the Admiralty, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley one of the Secretaries of the Treasury.

law of nations, perpetrated by the strong against the weak.

A force, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line and twenty thousand troops, was secretly dispatched to Denmark, and suddenly appeared off Copenhagen. The Danes were utterly unprepared for such a visit; their flag was neutral, their country at peace with England. The English commanders required the Government of Denmark *to deliver into their custody the whole of the Danish ships, to be kept till the termination of the war.* The Danes indignantly refused to part with their fleet; —protesting against the cowardice of coming upon them unawares, and warning the British not to dishonour their country by a deed of violent spoliation. Cathcart and Gambier were, however, sent, not to enter into a discussion on the law of nations, but to bring away the fleet. They menaced the capital of Denmark with destruction. The Danes, scarcely believing it possible that one kingdom at peace with another could authorise such measures, and strong in the justice of their cause, still refused to yield up their ships,—remarking, that a surrender of them to the use of England would be a breach of neutrality towards France, and would most certainly be punished by Buonaparte. General Burrard, General Sir Arthur Wellesley, General Sir David Baird, and General Spencer, (who were employed in this expedition,) were now directed to land. A tremendous fire was opened upon the devoted city. The cathedral of Copenhagen, and many public edifices were destroyed; three hundred and eight houses were totally burnt, two thousand considerably injured; and one thousand one hundred and six of the unoffending

inhabitants were killed! "From the 2nd of September, until the evening of the 5th," says Admiral Gambier in his dispatch, "the conflagration was kept up in different places, when a considerable part of the city being consumed and the remainder threatened, the General commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice, to afford time to treat for a capitulation." This being after some difficulty arranged, the citadel and arsenal of Copenhagen were delivered into the hands of the captors; and after an absence of two months, Cathcart and Gambier entered Portsmouth in triumph, towing in the following ships:—

LIST OF DANISH SHIPS DELIVERED UP TO THE BRITISH FORCES.

	Guns.		*Guns.*
Christian VII.	96	Housewife	44
Neptune	84	Liberty	44
Princess Sophia	74	Venus	44
Justice	74	Nyade	36
Crown Princess	74	Triton	28
Danemark	74	Fredrigstern	28
Norway	74	Little Belt	24
Princess Caroline	74	St. Thomas	22
Oden	74	Fylla	24
Dalmarkseve	74	Elbe	20
Conqueror	64	Egdern	20
Maso	54	Gluckstad	20
Pearl	44		

Six brigs and twenty-five gun-boats.

This proceeding presents a *primâ facie* case of the most violent oppression, and flagrant insult to the law of nations—which England, above all other countries, was interested in maintaining. Those who defend it are called upon to produce the strongest possible rebutting evidence to stay the judgment of

mankind upon it. Is it lawful to do evil that good may come? Can any case of necessity be supposed that can 'make right wrong, and consecrate a crime?' Or, as a mere matter of policy, could any possible benefits that might accrue to England, counterbalance the odium attaching to the ruthless bloodshedding of innocent citizens, the bombardment of a peaceful city, and the seizure of ships protected by a neutral flag and the clearest declarations of public law?

As might have been supposed, the expedition to Copenhagen formed a topic of discussion in Parliament. The Marquess Wellesley assumed the duty of justifying the conduct of the Ministers; and it was obviously a case that tasked all his powers of advocacy. Before the bombardment of Copenhagen, the following proclamation was isued in the joint names of Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier:—

"Whereas the present treaties of peace, and the changes of government and territory acceded to by so many powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe as to render it impossible for Denmark, although it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist the French aggression, to take measures to prevent the arms of neutral powers from being turned against them. In this view the King cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference, and his Majesty has sent negotiators with ample powers to his Danish Majesty, to request, in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the times require, and a concurrence in such measures, as can alone give security against the farther mischiefs

which the French meditate, through the acquisition of the Danish navy.

"The King, our royal and most gracious master, has therefore judged it expedient to desire the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his Majesty's ports. This deposit seems so just, and to be so indispensably necessary under the relative circumstances of the neutral and belligerent Powers, that his Majesty has farther deemed it a duty to himself and his people to support this demand by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with every preparation necessary for the most active and determined enterprise.

"We come therefore to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand! not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe from compelling the force of your navy to be turned against us. We ask deposit. We have not looked to capture. So far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your Government, and is hereby renewed in the name and at the express command of the King our master, that if our demand is amicably acceded to, every ship belonging to Denmark shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her in the same condition and state of equipment as when received under the protection of the British flag.

"It is in the power of your Government by a word to sheath our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you! But if on the other hand the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be spilt,

and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads and on those of your cruel advisers. His Majesty's seamen and soldiers, when on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as your conduct to them permits it, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war. The persons of all those who remain at home, and who do not take an hostile part, will be held sacred.

"Property will be respected and preserved, and the most severe discipline will be enforced. Every article of supply furnished or brought to market will be paid for at a fair and settled price; but as immediate and constant supplies, especially of provisions, forage, fuel, and transports, are necessary to all armies, it is well known that requisitions are unavoidable, and must be enforced. Much convenience will arise to the inhabitants, and much confusion and loss to them will be prevented, if persons in authority are found in the several districts to whom requisitions may be addressed, and through whom claims for payment may be settled and liquidated. If such persons are appointed, and discharge their duty without meddling in matters which do not concern them, they shall be respected, and all requisitions shall be addressed to them through the proper channels and departments of the navy and army; but as forbearance on the part of the inhabitants is essential to the principle of these arrangements, it is necessary that all manner of civil persons should remain at their respective habitations; and any peasants or other persons found in arms

singly, or in small troops, or who may be guilty of any acts of violence, must expect to be treated with rigour.

"The Government of his Danish Majesty having hitherto refused to treat this matter in an amicable way, part of the army has been disembarked, and the whole force has assumed a warlike attitude; but it is as yet not too late for the voice of reason and moderation to be heard.

"Given in the Sound, under our hands and seals, this 16th day of August, 1807.

"CATHCART, *Lieutenant-General.*
"J. GAMBIER, *Admiral.*"

Lords Grey, Grenville, Moira, Holland, Erskine and Sidmouth, condemned the whole expedition, and entered their protest against it, as a manifest departure from that system of moral policy and justice on which we had hitherto professed to act: contending that, even if it had been certain that the French would seize the fleet of Denmark against her consent, the iniquity of that act ought, in sound policy, independently of all considerations of justice, to have been left to the French Government to perpetrate, because the carcasses of the ships would have been the only fruits of an action of the deepest atrocity. But in taking this part upon herself, Great Britain had lost her moral station in the world.

The following speech in defence of the expedition, was delivered by Lord Wellesley in the House of Lords, February 8th, 1808, in the debate on the Duke of Norfolk's motion for the production of the information sent by the British Minister at Copenhagen respecting

the Danish fleet. It was considered by the friends of the Ministers as a triumphant vindication of their conduct; it was admitted on all hands to be a masterly argument:—

"Marquess Wellesley rose. He said he had listened with the greatest attention to the speech of the noble mover, (the Duke of Norfolk,) but must certainly differ from him as to the necessity of having before their Lordships the mass of documents which he had called for. What! could their Lordships doubt for a moment that they had not sufficient proof before them to justify the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers in having undertaken that great and saving measure, the expedition to Copenhagen? He thought that, without any further proof than what was already before their Lordships, the question was now ripe for discussion. On stating this, he rested on the proofs before their Lordships and the country,—he meant the various circumstances and facts which could not escape the notice of the most common observer. Why ask for official documents, when their Lordships might adduce the progress of events, the relative situation of Denmark and France, and then again the relative situation of England with either or with both? To ask for further proofs than the circumstances of the case exhibited, would be to slur and insult the national character. In fact, such a parliamentary proceeding would be to cast a reproach on the country for having defeated the enemy, and frustrated his designs by anticipation. With a view, however, of going as largely into the subject as some noble lords seemed to wish, he should consider,—first, the necessity of the case; next, the designs of France, and

her means to accomplish them ; thirdly, the means of Denmark to resist France ; and lastly, the law of nations as involved in the question. He should, in taking his view of the state and condition of France, not carry their Lordships' attention farther back than the battle of Trafalgar,—that proud and glorious event for the honour and independence of this country. At that period there was a hostile disposition against France on the Continent ; even after the defeat of the Prussians, there existed an enmity and disposition on the Continent against her influence and dominion : in fact, as long as the Continent saw any hope of resisting the French with success, a rancorous feeling and disposition to manifest resistance appeared, either directly or indirectly, in most places which could bid defiance for the moment to the powers of France; but he was sorry to add, that the feelings and dispositions which had thus distinguished the Continent, while the fate of France was questionable, immediately changed after the unfortunate battle of Friedland.

"From that time the hope of the Continent was turned into despair, the face of things was altered, and instead of resistance being thought of, everything fell before the sword of the triumphant armies of France. Taking up the situation of Buonaparte at this period, how different was it from his condition at the period when we gained the victory of Trafalgar! Though a short time had elapsed from the achievement of that memorable event to the success of the French at Friedland, yet such a sudden change had taken place on the Continent, that the hopes of further resistance to them seemed wholly abandoned. This then, being the

relative situation of France and this country at the time, it must be obvious to every thinking mind, that Buonaparte would immediately turn his views and power against the resources and ascendancy of the British empire.

"Did their Lordships want any proof of his intention to destroy and annihilate our independence,—nay, our very existence as a nation? Could a doubt remain in the breast of their Lordships of his hatred and of his disposition to try all means by which he might accomplish our ruin and overthrow? And how could he expect to promote his designs so effectually, as by the complete ruin of our commerce and naval superiority? He had asked their Lordships whether they could hesitate for a moment to decide that such was the intention of Buonaparte; but if doubts could be still entertained on a subject which to him appeared as clear as possible, surely they must be removed by the declaration of the enemy himself, who vaunted soon after the battle of Friedland, that he had conquered the peace of the Continent. And how did he gain his object even on the Continent? By compelling the powers whom he had conquered or intimidated into an alliance, to yield to his wishes and coöperate with him in his fixed—his determined hostility against the existence of this great empire. Having thus forced, directly or indirectly, all the powers which he was able to control in the first instance against England; having, as he stated, conquered a peace on the Continent, in order to commence a terrible war against our naval superiority, could it be supposed by any reflecting man in the country, with such evidence before him of a determined and fixed

resolution to try all means for the accomplishment of our downfall,—could it, he would again ask, be supposed that our active, desperate, and powerful enemy, would have neglected to avail himself of the means and resources which Denmark presented for the furtherance of his projects? Was it to be imagined that the consummate general and able statesman who was at the head of affairs in France, entertaining such views, would neglect the desirable expedient of adding the navy of Denmark to his resources?

"If we should not be satisfied with this presumptive proof, we might bring the testimony still nearer; for he announced his intention almost in direct terms after the fatal battle of Friedland, and the whole of his subsequent conduct has been illustrative of it. The movement of the French armies, the appointment of a distinguished officer in Hamburgh close to the scene of action, and the collection of a vast military force in that neighbourhood, all conduced to show he meant to overawe, if not conquer, Denmark; and either by fraud or force, to render her subservient to his grand project of the humiliation of Great Britain. This plan was not confined to Denmark; it was to be extended to Portugal: and in both countries all British subjects were to be seized, every means of oppression was to be employed, the whole combined forces of these kingdoms were to be directed to complete the punishment of the oppressors of the seas, the enemies of the freedom of navigation throughout the world! This was not vague conjecture; the purpose was disclosed at the court of France by her military ruler to the Ambassadors of Portugal and Denmark in immediate succes-

sion. The communication was not made in the moment of haste, or under the ebullition of passion : it was imparted during the frigid formalities of state ceremony. It was well known, that before the 1st of September, he publicly demanded of the Minister of the Court of Portugal, in the presence of the Ministers of all the courts who had envoys in his presence, whether he had transmitted his order to the Court of Portugal to join their fleet to the maritime confederacy against England, to shut their ports against its trade, and to confiscate the property of its subjects within the Portuguese territory ; and having said this, he turned round to the Danish Minister, and asked him whether he had transmitted the same order to his court ? The design of the Emperor of the French, therefore, to draw the fleet of Denmark into his power was manifest, and no documents were required to make it more clear. That he had the power to carry his designs into execution was to him equally clear.

" It had been asserted by the noble Duke (Norfolk) that many difficulties would remain to be encountered, even after the enemy should be in the possession of the peninsula of Jutland. The noble Marquess had himself taken some pains to collect information as to the maritime obstructions and facilities on the coast of Zealand, which he would submit to the notice of their Lordships, in answer to the opinions to which he had just adverted. The ordinary state of the Belt in the winter season was to have the passage intercepted by floating ice which was carried off by the current, and dispersed by the wind, or occasionally melted during a warm interval, so as entirely to disappear. There were

no tides in the Belt; and the course of the stream accompanying the wind, nothing was more frequent than for vessels in that channel to be driven off from their station. In this situation of things the enemy might with facility effect his purpose of transport from the adjacent territory. The large extent of coast was another circumstance to be considered: so that without the necessity of supposing any favourable state of the elements, it could be readily imagined that the occupation of the continental dependencies of Denmark would soon be followed by the conquest of her insular possessions. It might be inquired, Would the Danish army be inactive during these hostile proceedings? What was its strength? It was stated at twenty-five thousand on paper; but he believed, in effective force, it did not exceed eighteen thousand. How could this irregular body encounter the victorious troops of France, poured into the country in numbers, at pleasure, proportioned to the degree of resistance to be expected? It perhaps would also be asked, On what principle of policy it was, that we offered to guarantee to Denmark the security of her dominions, when so much difficulty must attend their preservation? He would not pretend to determine what might have been the result had the Danish army been supported by British valour, and had their combined exertions been aided by the organization of a patriotic people in defence of their hearths and their altars; but in any view he could take of the subject, it would have been an arduous and difficult enterprise.

"Some inconvenience would have arisen from other causes. Zealand did not afford a sufficient quan-

tity of provisions for the maintenance of its own inhabitants; and hence, even for the ordinary demand, it was necessary for her to obtain her principal articles of subsistence from Holstein and Jutland. If numerous forces were collected in the island, much larger demands would be made upon the Continent than could be answered, because the French would be in possession of those dependencies, and thus the apparent means of security would increase their danger, and they would ultimately fall a sacrifice to their own necessities. Whatever might be the disposition of England to assist them in this emergency, it might be physically impossible; the inclemency of the season would probably prevent access at the time when communication was absolutely necessary to their support. Reflecting then on all these circumstances, it was his firm conviction that, whenever the French thought it necessary to their schemes of aggrandizement and power, Zealand would have become an easy victim to their ambition. The policy of Buonaparte might, perhaps, have dictated less violent means; he might have contented himself with threats. 'I will spare you,' he might have said, 'your islands; I will even resign to you your continental possessions on the condition that you unite your naval and military forces with the rest of Europe against the common enemy. If you obstinately persevere in maintaining your relations of amity with the despot of the ocean, your Germanic provinces shall be partitioned by new claimants, and your islands shall become dependencies on the adjacent shores. It was not difficult to discern that Denmark had no strong bias in favour of this country: her disposition

was manifestly shown on the memorable occasion of the Armed Neutrality.* But nice inquiries into her political attachments were not, in the present circumstances, necessary; it was sufficient to show that she was absolutely dependent upon France; and the unavoidable conclusion was, that she would be subservient to France. The state of the Continent necessarily assimilated her interest to that Government; and in truth she held her most productive territories only by its permission. Not only her dominions but the chief support of her importance, her commerce, was at the disposal of the same power; for in time of war especially, she must be deprived of her intercourse with the most opulent states, unless the concurrence of France should sanction her proceedings.

"From all that had been urged on these various departments of the subject he would draw three natural inferences: 1st. It was the purpose of France to seize the Danish fleet. 2nd. It was in the power of France to seize it. 3rd. Denmark had no adequate means of resistance. He would consider these positions now as sufficiently established, and would proceed to some other matters of great weight in his view of the subject. What would have been the consequence had France obtained the coöperation of this powerful marine? Their Lordships would immediately perceive it would not have been a solitary acquisition; it would have been added to the navy of Russia, and the subjection of the Swedish fleet would have precipitately followed; and thus the whole floating strength of these three powers would have been under the control of our

* *Vide* vol. ii. p. 114.

enemy. It would have been no trifling accession; forty sail of the line would have been placed in a commanding situation for the attack of the vulnerable parts of Ireland, and for a descent upon the coasts of England or Scotland; and in opposition to this formidable navy the Admiralty could not have assigned any competent force without weakening our stations in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic, and the Indian Seas, at a time when it was necessary to maintain our superiority in all these stations. Such being the character and power of the enemy, and such the condition of Denmark, was it possible that any one of their Lordships could assert that the danger was not imminent? The case of danger, made out even in the imperfect manner he had stated it, was so great, that it concerned the very existence of the country as an independent power. Had Ministers not acted as they had done, they would have fatally abandoned their highest duties; and he hoped in God, that if ever similar circumstances should occur, the same wisdom would be found at the helm to conduct the vessel of the state in security amid the shoals and rocks that threatened its destruction.

"The moment was precious: a few weeks, perhaps the progress of a single week, would have rendered the attempt unsuccessful, and we should have been exposed to all the dreadful consequences he detailed. Addressing a British audience he could scarcely justify arguing the subject: the peril to which the nation was liable called up every sentiment of affection to our constitution, to our liberties, and our laws, and in terms mandatory and irresistible dictated the course which must

be pursued. The violence which had been attributed to this measure was unavoidable; every attempt at negotiation was unsuccessfully made; every offer of remuneration was insultingly rejected. It would have been useless to have extorted promises from a people wholly at the disposal of the enemy; nothing less than the resignation of the fleet was sufficient, and the means by which it was obtained were justified by every principle of truth, of equity, and honour. The great maxims of the law of nations were founded on the law of nature; and the law of security or self-preservation was, among these, the most important and sacred. It was a law equally to be obeyed by individuals and communities.

"The King, placed at the head of the great society subsisting on these islands, had no duty paramount to the protection of the people; and by the servants of the Crown this imperious duty had been, on this momentous occasion, vigilantly and ably discharged. The principle of the great law of nature and nations was clearly applicable to the case before their Lordships. Here was an instrument of war within the grasp of our inveterate enemy: we interposed and seized it; and this act of energy and wisdom was to have the hard names of rapine and impiety ascribed to it! To show that injury had been done to an innocent party in a transaction, was not to prove its iniquity. All war had the effect to involve in its horrors the helpless and innocent; but it was not on that account necessarily unjust. Let any man say how war could be conducted without it. As neutral individuals might be sacrificed in the common calamity, so also might neutral nations.

In cases of this kind the party committing the injury was frequently mistaken; it was often done, not by the ostensible instrument, but by the silent agent which, by previous misconduct, had exposed the sufferer to such an unfortunate situation. Were not such principles fairly referable to every part of this extraordinary case? If he had accurately the relative rights of countries as founded on the laws of nature, the Government of Great Britain had only put into exercise that law of self-preservation that needed no learned and intricate disquisitions to justify. What signified reasoning on abstract rights, it might be said, when the general voice of Europe proclaimed the criminality of our conduct? But was the tongue of Europe free as to the great principles of public law, affecting the interests of Great Britain, especially connected with our maritime claims? Could their Lordships point out any place on the map of Europe where any one dare breathe a sentiment adverse to the ruler of France? What flag was free? What ship navigated the ocean but under his orders? What commerce was there in Europe but under his appointment and control? What soldier, what lawyer, what churchman, what layman, dared to utter an opinion inimical to him? Was not the subjugation, not only of the Continent, but of the body and mind of every individual on its surface, complete? It reminded him of the condition of humiliated Greece when the arms of Philip of Macedon were triumphant, and the Delphic Apollo was said by a distinguished orator of that time to speak only in the Macedonian dialect! Everywhere throughout Europe the oracular decisions by which she was governed were

French, and to them obedience was paid, due only to divine authority. From these considerations he hoped that the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers would be respected and approved ; that no proceeding in Parliament would tend to sully the glory of this most distinguished achievement ; and that nothing would lead the world to suppose that the councils of the nation suspected the purity and honour of this great saving measure. It would be a source of gratification to the enemy if he saw that the senate of the land joined in the condemnation he had so hastily determined. This was the severest blow he had felt since he had commenced his reign ; on one occasion, at least, Fortune had not attended his chariot wheels, and in the prosecution of his most favourite project he had been humbled and disappointed. The noble Marquess concluded by repeating his conviction that his Majesty's Ministers had, in the case before the House, rendered a great and essential service to the country ; and feeling as he did upon the occasion, he must decide against the proposition of the noble Duke."

CHAPTER XVII.

Articles of Charges of High Crimes and Misdemeanours preferred by Mr. Paull against the Marquess Wellesley in Parliament.—Form and Substance of the Charges.—Their Allegations examined.—In consequence of the Death of Mr. Paull, Lord Folkstone moves a Series of Resolutions in the House of Commons as the Ground-work of an Impeachment.—Rejected by the House.—Sir John Anstruther, late Chief-Justice of Bengal, moves a Vote of Approval of the Conduct of Lord Wellesley, which was carried.—Sir Thomas Turton brings forward the Carnatic Question, and Charges the Marquess Wellesley with having connived at Assassination.—Sir Thomas Turton's Resolutions indignantly Negatived by the House.—The Doab and Furruckabad Charges fall to the ground, and the Question is never again agitated in Parliament.—Letter from the Marquess Wellesley to Mr. Wilberforce, in which Allusion is made to Mr. Paull's Charges.

The facts which have been submitted to the reader in the preceding chapters of these volumes, it is presumed, afford an effectual answer to the charges brought in the House of Commons against the Marquess Wellesley by Mr. Paull:—yet, as the parliamentary proceedings in the attempt to induce the House to institute an impeachment against his Lordship* are historical events, it would be improper to dismiss them without some examination of their merits.

On the 22nd of May, 1806, (while the public mind was excited by the formal impeachment of Lord Mel-

* Articles of Impeachment are kinds of Bills of Indictment found by the House of Commons, and afterwards tried by the House of Lords; who are, in cases of misdemeanours, considered, not only as their own peers, but the peers of the whole nation. *Vide* Blackstone, vol. iv. c. 19.

ville, grounded on the fourth report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, which case was then pending,) Mr. Paull stated the heads of the charges which he intended to prefer against the Ex-Governor-General of India. On the 28th of May, the celebrated Oude charge was ordered to be printed.

I have now before me one of the copies of that document printed in May 1806, recovered from 'the ponderous and marble jaws' of the State Paper Office. It bears the following alarming title in bold type :—

"ARTICLE OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANOURS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUESS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE NABOB VIZIER OF OUDE."

Every paragraph was set forth in due form, and the typographical terrors of the instrument were sustained and augmented by the solemnity of the legal phraseology. The charge was opened with the following preamble :—

LORD WELLESLEY'S APPOINTMENT AND RECALL.

"That Richard Colley Marquess Wellesley was appointed, constituted, and actually became a servant of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the year of the reign of his Majesty the thirty-seventh. That the office which he was appointed to fill was that of Governor-General of Bengal, and subsequently of Captain-General of all the King's and Company's forces serving in the British territories in the East Indies. That he arrived, and

took possession of the government committed to his charge, in the month of May 1798; and that he continued to fill, and to exercise the powers of, the said office and offices until the month of August 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles Marquess Cornwallis.

EXTENT AND POPULATION OF OUDE.

"That Oude is an independent principality in the peninsula of India, adjoining on the one side to the British territories, being in extent somewhat larger than England and Wales; having many large and populous cities, amongst which is Lucknow, the present capital, exceeding in number of inhabitants London and Westminster together; and containing in the whole principality a population of nearly six millions of souls.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

"That the Government is monarchical in form, and absolute in the person of the sovereign, whose title is that of Nabob Vizier; who had under him, previous to the spoliation and extortion of the Marquess Wellesley, a high and opulent nobility; whose court exhibited every mark of splendour, and every proof of reverence and devotion to the sovereign; whose jewels alone were worth four millions of pounds sterling; whose retinue was so numerous, that he was sometimes attended with five hundred elephants, richly caparisoned, the whole number of his elephants and stable horses amounting to several thousands; and whose army consisted of more than thirteen thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot,

exclusive of artillery, and exclusive also of an armed police.

FERTILITY OF OUDE.

"That the principality of Oude abounds in fertile lands, and yields (besides those sorts of grain which are common to England) cotton, indigo, rice, sugar, and many other valuable commodities; that the manufactories, previous to the spoliations of Marquess Wellesley, were extensive, and the exports thereof great, both in quantity of goods and in amount of value; and that the revenues of the country were abundant, and daily increasing."

The subsidiary treaties negotiated with the several Sovereigns of Oude, by Lord Clive, Mr. Warren Hastings, the Marquess Cornwallis, and Sir John Shore, were then recited; and the retrospect was closed in the terms following:—

CHARACTER OF THE NABOB.

"That the character and conduct of the said Nabob Vizier Saadut Ali Cawn was, in letters from the Governor-General, and from the Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee aforesaid, bearing date on the said 5th of March, 1798, thus described: 'His talents and capacity, though moderate, are not mean; his habits of economy are strong, and approaching to parsimony; his conduct during his residence at Benares was reserved and correct; in all his dealings he was fair and just; if some moral defects are imputed to him, they are not exposed to general observation. His conduct since his accession has been dignified and con-

ciliatory, and indeed in all respects regulated by the strictest propriety; and it is with sincere pleasure we acquaint you that the most perfect tranquillity prevailed at Oude at the time of the Governor-General's departure therefrom, and that there was no ground whatever to apprehend its being disturbed.'"

STATE OF OUDE WHEN LORD WELLESLEY ARRIVED IN INDIA.

"That such and so auspicious was the state of affairs in Oude, and such its connection with the East India Company when Richard Colley Marquess Wellesley arrived in India and entered upon his functions as aforesaid in the month of May 1798; that is to say, three months after the date of the treaty so happily concluded, and so strongly approved of as aforesaid."

Great stress was laid upon the Act of Parliament against conquest and extension of territory in India; and here there was, unquestionably, a strong *primâ facie* case against the Marquess Wellesley:—

ACT AGAINST CONQUEST AND EXTENSION OF DOMINION IN INDIA.

"That by an Act passed in the year 1784, being the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, it was declared and enacted, that, 'Whereas to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation. Be it therefore further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for the Governor-General and Council of Fort William aforesaid, without the express command

and authority of the said Court of Directors, or of the Secret Committee of the said Court of Directors, in any case *(except where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities against the British Nation in India, or against some of the Princes or States dependent thereon, or whose territories the said United Company shall be at such time engaged by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee)*, either to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country Princes or States in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country Princes or States, and that in such case it shall not be lawful for the said Governor-General and Council to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into treaty for making war against any other Prince or State than such as shall be actually committing hostilities or making preparations as aforesaid, or to make such treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any Prince or State, but upon the consideration of such Prince or State actually engaging to assist the Company against such hostilities commenced, or preparations made as aforesaid ; and in all cases where hostilities shall be commenced or treaty made, the said Governor-General and Council shall, by the most expeditious means they can devise, communicate the same unto the said Court of Directors, together with a full state of the information and intelligence upon which they shall have commenced such hostilities, or made such treaties, and their motives and reasons for the same at large."

The exception was sufficiently wide;—especially when coupled with the general instructions of the Court of Directors, wherever it was practicable to exchange subsidy for territory. Mr. Paull, however, had no hesitation in describing Lord Wellesley's proceedings as designs of "encroachment, extortion, and usurpation."

PAYMENT OF THE SUBSIDY.

"That, nevertheless, the said Nabob Vizier did, in a manner the most punctual, begin and continue to make payment of the kists (or instalments) as aforesaid fixed and agreed upon; that in one single instance only did he suffer to fall in arrear a monthly kist, which he immediately afterwards paid up. That from the day of the conclusion of the treaty to the day of its final abrogation by the Treaty of Cession from him extorted by the said Marquess Wellesley, he, the said Nabob Vizier, did, with the most perfect sincerity and the most scrupulous good faith, adhere, in word and in deed, to all and singular its stipulations and provisions, and that, therefore, the pretences of the said Marquess Wellesley of apprehensions as to the punctual payment of the kists were insincere, unfounded, and false, and were intended to mask the unjust, dishonourable, and perfidious designs, which he had previously formed for interfering in and encroaching upon the Government of the Nabob Vizier, for disbanding his troops, and finally for seizing upon his territories, in defiance of the positive compact with the said Nabob Vizier, as well as in defiance of the law before cited, which he the said Marquess Wellesley was solemnly bound to observe, adhere to, and obey."

LORD WELLESLEY CHARGED WITH EXCITING THE NABOB'S SUBJECTS AGAINST HIM.

"That, with respect to the fomenting, amongst the subjects of the Nabob Vizier, of discontents against his government, and hostility to his person, the said Marquess Wellesley, through the means of, and in concert with, the said William Scott, besides the divers acts of the kind here mentioned and before referred to, did, after the rejection of the aforesaid insulting and cruel proposition, together with other propositions nearly thereunto resembling, and with the view and the intention of driving the Nabob Vizier, his rights, and revenues, and territories to renounce, intrigue with, stir up, and, as well by threats as by promises, did move and instigate the subjects of the said Nabob Vizier the due authority of their Sovereign to contemn, his lawful commands to set at nought, his just claims to refuse, and his person to abhor."

OCCUPATION OF OUDE BY THE BRITISH TROOPS.

"That, with respect to the pouring of troops into the territories of the said Nabob Vizier, the loading him with accumulated expenses, and the final seizure of one half of his territory, as a commutation for the sums so unjustly demanded, the said Marquess Wellesley having disbanded the troops of the said Nabob Vizier without his consent, which disbanding he had represented as sufficient to enable the said Nabob Vizier to meet all the demands that would ever come against him for the support of the Company's troops to be in lieu thereof introduced into the dominions of Oude;

having introduced into the said dominions, corps upon corps, adding expense to expense, making, upon exaggerated and fraudulent estimates and returns, demand after demand on the Treasury of the Nabob Vizier, while at the same time he undermined the authority of the said Nabob Vizier over the persons from whom his revenues were immediately received; having, in fact, seized upon great part of the territories from which the Nabob Vizier's revenues were derived, insomuch, that on the 18th of July, 1801, in answer to reproaches to him by the said William Scott made, relative to the non-payment of the kist, the said Nabob Vizier, in the bitterness of his heart, thus represented the tyranny over him by the said Marquess Wellesley exercised: 'In respect to the kist, you well know, that, in opposition to and in defiance of me, you have called before you the aumils and their vakeels (or messengers), and, without my acquiescence, or any participation on my part, you have told them that such and such countries belonged to the Company, and have forbidden them giving me the peishgee, or advance; and further, you have directed the officers in command of the troops to establish themselves in the countries alluded to; judge, then, what confusion these circumstances must have given rise to in the country, what confidence the aumils can now repose in me: having first deprived me of the means of collecting the revenues, you then call upon me to make payments.' Having, by means so unjust and tyrannical, reduced the said Nabob Vizier to the situation here described, the said Marquess Wellesley, under the false pretence of being so authorized to act by the Treaty of 1798, did demand, and by and

through the means of his brother the Honourable Henry Wellesley, by him *unlawfully appointed* to the mission at Lucknow, did from the said Nabob Vizier force and extort the Cession in perpetuity to the East India Company, of the one-half of the whole of the territories of Oude. That, in the month of November, 1801, a treaty, in which the said cession was stipulated for, was concluded with the Nabob Vizier; that the said Henry Wellesley, in order to compel the said Nabob Vizier thereunto to consent, did renew the alarming threats so frequently referred to by the said Marquess Wellesley, by the means of, and in concert with, the said William Scott ; that he, the said Henry Wellesley, was instructed to declare, and to the said Nabob Vizier did declare, the settled determination of his brother, the said Marquess Wellesley, to seize upon the whole of the dominions of Oude, unless the cession proposed was assented to."

The charge concludes :—

" That in all and singular the above-recited Acts of Proceedings, the said Richard Colley Marquess Wellesley has been wholly unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the said East India Company, to his Sovereign, and to his Country, by him entered into ; has daringly contemned the Parliament, the King, and the Laws, and dishonoured the British Nation and Name ; and has therein been guilty of High Offences, Crimes, and Misdemeanours."

The first observation that arises on this charge is, that the negotiation of the treaty with the Nabob of

Oude, was quite a different thing from the *conquest* of the country;—no conquest took place;—the Nabob never was deprived of sovereignty.

Sir Samuel Romilly and some other eminent lawyers, who interpreted the Act against conquest and extension of territory in India strictly, taking it for granted that Mr. Paull's assertion that Oude had been conquered, was true, were of opinion that the Marquess Wellesley had infringed the law. But Oude never was, in point of fact, conquered; and the circumstances of hostilities in the kingdom, and war on its frontier, would have brought the whole case within the exception in the Act of Parliament.

Mr. Paull, it will be observed, asserted roundly that the Nabob of Oude had punctually discharged all the payments he was bound by treaty to make. This was directly the reverse of truth. As early as the 23rd of December, 1798, the Governor-General made the following observations to J. Lumsden, Esq., the Resident at Lucknow. "I wish the Nabob could see that it would be a more dignified course to pay his subsidy *without giving me the trouble of importuning him; he regularly falls into arrear, and as regularly pays up the arrear whenever he learns from me that it has attracted my notice;* would it not be more for his honour and for my ease, if he would not wait for my application, but pay punctually as the subsidy became due." This irregularity was not remedied.

Another of Mr. Paull's charges was, that the Marquess Wellesley had "falsely and audaciously asserted that the said course, a course of fraudulent pretences, of pecuniary extortion, of political encroachment, and

of territorial invasion and usurpation, had already received the approbation of his Sovereign, of Parliament, and of the Company."

This charge was susceptible of a distinct reply. The treaty with the Vizier was concluded in November 1801. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, on the 4th of December, 1800, in a dispatch to Lord Wellesley, had actually approved of his Lordship's plan as "a measure *not less contributing to the preservation of his Excellency's (the Nabob Vizier's) dominions, than to the relief of the Company's finances*," —"so necessary to be made with a view to the ultimate security of our own possessions against Zemaun Shah, or of any other power hostile to the British interests." It has already been stated, that the Court of Directors did not pronounce a final decision on the charges in Oude till more than two years after the conclusion of the treaty, and that, after the fullest consideration, and the most careful examination, they signified their approbation of the Marquess Wellesley's conduct in this matter.

So far from its being true that the Nabob Vizier had been treated in the manner described by Mr. Paull, the condition of that Prince was materially improved; and before Lord Wellesley left India, his Highness afforded several substantial proofs of his friendship and good feeling both to the East India Company, and the Governor-General personally.

The justification of Lord Wellesley's measures rests upon the following considerations.—By the seventh article of the treaty concluded by Sir John Shore with

the Nabob Vizier, the Company were at liberty to increase the force serving in Oude; if they deemed such increase requisite for the security of the two states:—the occurrences on the advance of Zemaun Shah, and the massacre by Vizier Ali, were sufficient proofs of that necessity. The proposed abdication of the Nabob, his declaration that he could place no reliance on his own troops in case of invasion and insurrection—his consent to reduce them—his subsequent efforts and puerile evasions to defeat the plans he had sanctioned, and the ruin which his mismanagement was bringing on his unfortunate subjects,—the whole conduct of the Vizier throughout these transactions, rendered the measures adopted by the Governor-General imperatively necessary.

Mr. Paull's life having been terminated by violence, Lord Folkstone, his chief supporter, on the 9th of March, 1808, moved a series of twelve resolutions, condemnatory of the conduct of the Marquess Wellesley. The concluding one was to the following effect:—

"That Marquess Wellesley, *actuated by unjustifiable ambition and love of power*, had formed schemes of aggrandizement and acquisition of territory, in direct opposition to the established policy of the East India Company;—that he pursued this object by means offensive, and with a spirit irritating to the Nabob, with a total disregard of the recorded opinions of this House and the provisions of two several Acts of Parliament; and that he finally succeeded in wresting from this unfortunate Prince, against his will, a large portion of his territory, and in depriving him of all effective government over the remainder, in direct violation of every principle of good faith, equity, and

justice, and in open breach of the sacred obligation of a solemn treaty; and that he has thereby affixed a lasting stigma and reproach on the British name and character, and contributed to destroy all confidence in the moderation, justice, and good faith of the British Government in India."

One passage in Lord Folkstone's speech demands notice: it affords a pretty striking proof of the inaccuracy of his Lordship's information on the intricate subject he had undertaken to handle:—

"No sooner, however, had Lord Wellesley destroyed the power of Tippoo than he began to execute his projects upon Oude. He ordered additional troops to march into the country to guard against the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah. *This was a mere pretext,—they were continued there after the death of the Shah and the dismemberment of his dominions.*"

Zemaun Shah was alive at that very moment,—he survived Lord Folkstone's speech forty-seven years! Lord Folkstone's resolutions were negatived by a large majority; 31 voted for them; 182 against them.

Sir John Anstruther, who had been Chief-Justice of Bengal during the Marquess Wellesley's residence in India, then moved a resolution to the effect that the Marquess Wellesley, in carrying into execution the late arrangements in Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service and by the desire of providing more effectually for the prosperity, the defence, and the safety of the British territories in India. The resolution was triumphantly carried.

On the 17th of May, 1808, Sir Thomas Turton

brought the consideration of the Carnatic Question before the House. It is unnecessary to say one word further upon this subject. Sir Thomas Turton's speech remains as a standing disgrace to the speaker:—

"But the most nefarious part of this transaction was the subsequent conduct towards the rightful Prince, who, from the time of his deposition, was confined with his mother in the palace of Chapauk, that being his private property, in which palace Azum ul Dowlah himself resided. The unhappy Prince presented several ineffectual petitions to be removed. Finding these were in vain, he addressed a letter to two Englishmen, to whom it appears that his father had formerly recommended him, requesting them to lay his wrongs before the very best of kings, and then to appeal to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, 'who,' he said, 'had always evinced a very particular and friendly regard for the interests of his family,—to the President of the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors; and here he expressed himself aware that they would have to combat with a legion of bad passions, and a host of hostile interests; lastly, to the House of Commons. I have endeavoured,' says he, 'in this mournful statement, under the mortifying events which have happened, and the variety of sensations which have possessed me, to acquaint you of the unhappy situation in which I find myself exposed, and I am afraid that I have ill succeeded. I need not endeavour to impress you with the horrors of the situation to which I feel myself reduced; you have but to picture to yourselves the height of human grandeur, and the sad and miserable reverse of it; the highest and lowest condition of which

humanity is capable. But even the meanest subject of the very worst government possesses a blessing which my fortune and fate forbid. He owns the gratifying sensation of knowing himself safe amidst the society of his fellows; while I, alas! have no friendly or kindly sociality, none of those relations and ties which are made to secure the comforts and happiness of life,—an unit, as it were, in the sum of the people of the Carnatic! I am delivered into the hands of an enemy, who has but one act to execute to finish his career.' The fear which he thus pathetically expressed was prophetic, for the Prince soon died of a dysentery. *Sir Thomas said, he would not absolutely affirm that he came unfairly by his death, but he would say that it was his belief he did. He would not charge the persons concerned in this transaction with murder, such as is sometimes proved at the Old Bailey; he would not say that Lord Clive could have had an intention to have the Prince assassinated; but he maintained that they who, with their eyes open, placed him in such a perilous situation, were, in foro conscientiæ, heavily and deeply implicated.* So palpable, indeed, was the probability of such an assassination, that Mr. Addington, as soon as he learnt to whose custody the Prince was delivered over, immediately sent out orders to remove him."

Sir Thomas Turton's resolutions and motion were indignantly negatived by the House; and Mr. Wallace at once moved a vote of approbation on the conduct of the Marquess Wellesley. It was carried;—there being but nineteen votes against it.

Mr. Paull's Doab and Furruckabad charges fell to

the ground ; and the subject was never again agitated in Parliament.

LORD WELLESLEY TO WM. WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"Park Lane, April 15th, 1806.

"My dear Wilberforce,

"I am very much flattered by your kind remembrance, and by the Archbishop's notice. I have thought it most respectful to write to his Grace, and to request his commands with regard to the time when he may choose that I should attend him at Lambeth. Whenever I may have the honour of seeing the Archbishop, I shall certainly submit to him my entire concurrence in your sentiments respecting the state of the establishments of the Church of England in India. The great difficulty to be encountered in attempting any improvement is the expense. Otherwise, nothing can be more plain than the defects of the present miserable institution, or than the nature of the most useful remedies.

"I wish you would give a portion of your attention to the attack which has been made upon me in the House of Commons by Mr. Paull. If you are disposed to attend to it, I will furnish you with papers which will explain my conduct and motives. Believe me to be, my dear Wilberforce, yours always most sincerely, Wellesley."

APPENDIX.

(1.)

Indian Army employed in Egypt under General Baird.

	Strength.
His Majesty's 8th Light Dragoons	80
,, Royal Artillery	44
Hon. Company's Horse Artillery	27
,, Bengal Artillery	37
,, Madras ditto	96
,, Bombay ditto	144
His Majesty's 10th Regiment of Foot	984
,, 61st ditto	980
,, 80th ditto	496
,, 86th ditto	405
,, 88th ditto	466
Total Europeans	3759
Hon. Company's Horse Artillery	160
,, Bengal ditto	157
,, Madras ditto	197
,, Bombay ditto	200
,, Engineers	38
Bengal Volunteers	658
1st Bombay Regiment	828
7th ditto	708
Pioneer Corps	96

Departments	491
Public and private followers	666
Total of natives of India	4127
Grand Total	7886

(2.)

Territorial Acquisitions of the Honourable East India Company.

Date.	*Districts.*	*From whom acquired.*
1757	Twenty Pergunnahs	Nabob of Bengal.
1759	Masulipatam, &c.	The Nizam.
1760	Burdwan and Chittagong	Nabob of Bengal.
1765	Bengal, Bahar, &c.	The Mogul.
1765	Jaghire of Madras	Nabob of Arcot.
1766	Northern Circars	The Nizam.
1775	Zemindary of Benares	Vizier of Oude.
1776	Island of Salsette	The Mahrattas.
1778	Nagore (Town and Fort of)	Raja of Tanjore.
1778	Guntúr Circar	The Nizam.
1786	Pulo Penang	The King of Quedda.
1792	Malabar, &c. &c.	Tippoo Sultaun of Mysore.

Thus stood the British Empire in India in 1798. The acquisitions enumerated amounted to 211,782 square miles. The following is a statement of the districts acquired during the administration of the Marquess Wellesley:—

1799	Canara, Coimbatore, and Wynaad	Conquered from Tippoo.
1799	Tanjore	Raja of Tanjore.
1800	Mysorean Provinces acquired from Tippoo Sultaun	The Nizam.
1801	The Carnatic	Nabob of the Carnatic.
1801	Gurruckpore, Bareilly, &c.	Vizier of Oude.
1802	Bundelkund	Peishwa.

1803	Kuttack and Balasore . . .	Raja of Berar.
1803	Upper part of the Dooab, Delhi Territory	Scindiah.
1805	Part of Guzerat	Guicowar.

These important territories comprehended no less than 141,885 square miles. The acquisitions subsequent to the administration of the Marquess Wellesley were:—

1818	Kandeish	Holcar.
—	Ajmere	Scindiah.
—	Poonah and Mahratta Country .	The Peishwah.
—	Districts on the Nerbudda . .	Raja of Berar.
1824	Singapore	Raja of Johore.
1825	Malacca, &c.	King of Holland.
1826	Assam, Arracan, Tennasserim, &c.	King of Ava.
1834	Koorg	Raja of Koorg.
1840	Scinde	Ameers of Hyderabad.

(3.)

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE,

[1 Victoria, c. 70.—15th July, 1837.]

This act enables the India Board and Court of Directors to suspend the operation of the enactments relating to the admission of students at Haileybury College, in the 3rd and 4th Will. IV., c. 85, the "India Act," and in such cases the India Board may appoint examiners.

3. Court of Directors to pay expenses of any system of examination established by virtue of this Act, provided such expenses do not exceed in any one year the sum of 500*l.*

4 and 5. No person is to be admitted to the College as a student, whose age shall exceed twenty-one years; nor any person appointed, or sent out to India as a writer in the Company's service, whose age shall exceed twenty-three years.

6. All persons appointed or sent out as writers since the 10th of April, 1834, and previously to the 10th of April, 1839, to be deemed duly appointed.

7. Rules made in pursuance of this Act to be laid before Parliament.

The annexed Account of the net Expense or Charge incurred for the maintenance of the College of Haileybury, in 1833 and 1834, after deducting the sums paid by the Students, and stating the number of Students educated at the College in each half-year, was laid before Parliament in 1835.

	1832-33. £	s.	d.	1833-34. £	s.	d.
Repairs and alterations	1,631	1	1	422	17	6
Taxes, parochial rates, tithes, &c.	450	18	4	486	13	4
Establishment, salaries of the professors, wages of servants	8,025	9	0	7,899	0	6
Pensions	1,330	9	7	1,045	8	11
Table and housekeeping expenses	2,467	17	0	2,504	19	8
Rents and leases	36	15	0	36	15	0
Furniture and utensils	154	0	1	227	12	11
Coals, candles, &c.	909	17	1	733	14	8
Mathematical and philosophical instruments, books, stationery and prize medals	537	9	5	461	3	6
Incidentals	155	9	4	156	13	10
	£15,699	5	11	13,974	19	10
RECEIPTS.						
Half-yearly payments from students	3,307	10	0	3,465	0	0
Ditto subscription to the library and philosophical apparatus, &c.	784	7	9	659	17	0
Rents and sale of produce	36	8	0	25	10	0
	£4,128	5	9	4,150	7	0
Net expenditure	£11,571	0	2	9,824	12	10

Number of Students educated at the College in each half-year:

2d	Term	of 1832	34
1st	„	of 1833	28
2d	„	of 1833	32
1st	„	of 1834	35

Rules and Regulations to be observed with respect to the Examination of Candidates for Admission to the East India College at Haileybury.

India Board, 16th August, 1837.

Each candidate shall produce testimonials of good moral conduct, under the hand of the principal or superior authority of the College, or public institution in which he may have been educated, or under the hand of the private instructor to whose care he may have been confided; and the said testimonials shall have reference to his conduct during the two years immediately preceding his presentation for admission.

Each candidate shall be examined in the Greek Testament, and shall not be deemed duly qualified for admission to Haileybury College unless he be found to possess a competent knowledge thereof; nor unless he be able to render into English some portion of the works of one of the following Greek authors:—Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, Thucydides, Sophocles, and Euripides; nor unless he can render into English some portion of the works of one of the following Latin authors:—Livy, Terence, Cicero, Tacitus, Virgil, and Horace; and this part of the examination will include questions in ancient history, geography, and philosophy.

Each candidate shall also be examined in modern history, and geography, and in the elements of mathematical science, including the common rules of arithmetic, vulgar and decimal fractions, and the first four books of Euclid. He shall also be examined in moral philosophy, and in the

evidences of the Christian religion as set forth in the works of Paley.

It is, however, to be understood that superior attainments in one of the departments of literature or science, comprised in the foregoing plan of examination, shall, at the discretion of the Examiners, be considered to compensate for comparative deficiency in other qualifications; and also that the examination shall be so conducted as to give to each candidate reasonable time to prepare himself for the said examination.

The Examiners as above appointed, are instructed to meet forthwith, and to divide the duties herein assigned to them amongst themselves in such manner as to give to each Examiner some department or branch of examination; but although the Examiners are to examine each in his own department, separately, they are to decide collectively, and after due consultation, on the claims of each candidate, and are to certify, under the hands of all and each of them, their decision for his admission to the College of Haileybury, or his rejection, as the case may be.

(4.)

ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

Order in Council, prohibiting Trade to be carried on between Port and Port of Countries under the dominion or usurped control of France and her Allies.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 7th of January, 1807; present, the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.—Whereas the French Government has issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all Neutral Nations

with his Majesty's dominions, and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country, in any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions: and whereas the said Government has also taken upon itself to declare all his Majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy: and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to his Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant his Majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his Majesty's subjects; a prohibition which the superiority of his Majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous; and whereas his Majesty, though unwilling to follow the example of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy without taking some steps on his part to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice; his Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, *that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to or be in the possession of France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat:* and the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be, and are hereby instructed to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to

any such port; and any vessel after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his Majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize: and his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty, and courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

(Signed) Wm. Fawkener.

(5.)

Order in Council, declaring the Dominions of his Majesty's Enemies, and of Countries under their control, in a state of blockade, under the exceptions specified in the said Order.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807; present, the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.—Whereas certain orders, establishing an unprecedented system of warfare against this kingdom, and aimed especially at the destruction of its commerce and resources, were some time since issued by the Government of France, by which 'the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade,' thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels, with their cargoes, which should continue to trade with his Majesty's dominions: — And whereas by the same orders, 'all trading in English merchandize is prohibited; and every article of merchandize belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize:'—And whereas

the nations in alliance with France, and under her control, were required to give, and have given, and do give, effect to such orders:—And whereas his Majesty's order of the 7th of January last, has not answered the desired purpose, either of compelling the enemy to recall those orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpose with effect, to obtain their revocation; but, on the contrary, the same have been recently enforced with increased rigour:—And whereas his Majesty, under these circumstances, finds himself compelled to take further measures for asserting and vindicating his just rights, and for supporting that maritime power which the exertions and valour of his people have, under the blessing of Providence, enabled him to establish and maintain; and the maintenance of which is not more essential to the safety and prosperity of his Majesty's dominions, than it is to the protection of such states as still retain their independence, and to the general intercourse and happiness of mankind:—His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with his Majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which although not at war with his Majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to his Majesty's enemies, shall from henceforth be subject to the same restrictions, in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions hereinafter mentioned, as if the same were actually blockaded by his Majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner: and it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed and considered to be unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandize on board, and all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be captured and condemned

as prize to the captors.—But although his Majesty would be fully justified, by the circumstances and considerations above recited, in establishing such system of restrictions with respect to all the countries and colonies of his enemies, without exception or qualification; yet his Majesty being nevertheless desirous not to subject neutrals to any greater inconvenience than is absolutely inseparable from the carrying into effect his Majesty's just determination to counteract the designs of his enemies, and to retort upon his enemies themselves the consequences of their own violence and injustice; and being yet willing to hope that it may be possible (consistently with that object) still to allow to neutrals the opportunity of furnishing themselves with colonial produce for their own consumption and supply; and even to leave open, for the present, such trade with his Majesty's enemies as shall be carried on directly with the ports of his Majesty's dominions, or of his allies, in the manner hereinafter mentioned:—His Majesty is therefore pleased further to order, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to subject to capture or condemnation any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not declared by this order to be subjected to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, which shall have cleared out with such cargo from some port or place of the country to which she belongs, either in Europe or America, or from some free port in his Majesty's colonies, under circumstances in which such trade from such free port is permitted, direct to some port or place in the colonies of his Majesty's enemies, or from those colonies direct to the country to which such vessel belongs, or to some free port in his Majesty's colonies, in such cases, and with such articles, as it may be unlawful to import into such free port;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with his Majesty, which shall have cleared out from some port or place in this kingdom or from Gibraltar or Malta, under such regu-

lations as his Majesty may think fit to prescribe, or from any port belonging to his Majesty's allies and shall be proceeding direct to the port specified in her clearance;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with his Majesty, which shall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared by this order to be subject to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, destined to some port or place in Europe belonging to his Majesty, and which shall be on her voyage direct thereto: but these exceptions are not to be understood as exempting from capture or confiscation any vessel or goods which shall be liable thereto in respect of having entered or departed from any port or place actually blockaded by his Majesty's squadrons or ships of war, or for being enemies' property, or for any other cause than the contravention of this present order. And the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers, and other vessels acting under his Majesty's commission, shall be, and are hereby instructed to warn every vessel which shall have commenced her voyage prior to any notice of this order, and shall be destined to any port of France, or of her allies, or of any other country at war with his Majesty, or to any port or place from which the British flag as aforesaid is excluded, or to any colony belonging to his Majesty's enemies, and which shall not have cleared out as is herein before allowed, to discontinue her voyage, and to proceed to some port or place in this kingdom, or to Gibraltar or Malta; and any vessel which after having been so warned, or after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for the arrival of information of this his Majesty's order at any port or place from which she sailed, or which, after having notice of this order, shall be found in the prosecution of any voyage contrary to the restrictions contained in this order, shall be captured, and, together with her cargo, condemned as lawful prize to the captors.—And whereas countries, not engaged in the war, have acquiesced in the orders of

France, prohibiting all trade in any articles the produce or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions; and the merchants of those countries have given countenance and effect to those prohibitions, by accepting from persons styling themselves commercial agents of the enemy, resident at neutral ports, certain documents, termed 'Certificates of Origin,' being certificates obtained at the ports of shipment, declaring that the articles of the cargo are not of the produce or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions; or to that effect:—And whereas this expedient has been directed by France, and submitted to by such merchants, as part of the new system of warfare directed against the trade of this kingdom, and as the most effectual instrument of accomplishing the same, and it is therefore essentially necessary to resist it:—His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That if any vessel, after reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving notice of this his Majesty's order at the port or place from which such vessel shall have cleared out, shall be found carrying any such certificate or document as aforesaid, or any document referring to or authenticating the same, such vessel shall be adjudged lawful prize to the captor, together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the person or persons by whom, or on whose behalf, any such document was put on board.—And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty and courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

(Signed) W. Fawkener.

(6.)

French Commercial Decree, signed "Napoleon," and dated at Milan, November 23, 1807.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine —Upon the report of our Minister of the Finances, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:—Art. I. All vessels which, after having touched at England, from any motive whatsoever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and confiscated, as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandize.—II. The captains of vessels who shall enter the ports of France, shall, on the day of their arrival, proceed to the office of the Imperial Customs, and there make a declaration of the place from which they sailed, of the ports they have put into, and exhibit their manifests, bills of lading, sea-papers, and log-books.—When the captain shall have signed and delivered his declaration, and communicated his papers, the head-officer of the customs shall interrogate the sailors separately, in the presence of two overseers. If it results from this examination that the vessel has touched at England, independent of the seizure and confiscation of the said ship and cargo, the captain, as well as those sailors who, upon examination, shall have made a false declaration, shall be deemed prisoners, and shall not be set at liberty until after having paid the sum of 60,000 franks, as a personal penalty for the captain, and 500 franks for each of the sailors so arrested, over and above the pains incurred by those who falsify their papers and log-books.—III. If advice or information communicated to the directors of our customs give rise to any suspicions as to the origin of the cargoes, they shall be provisionally warehoused until it is ascertained and decided that they do not come from England or her colo-

nies.—IV. Our commissaries for commercial relations, who deliver certificates of origin for merchandize laden in the ports of their residence destined for that of France, shall not confine themselves to an attestation that the merchandize or commodities do not come from England or her colonies or commerce; they shall indicate the place of origin, the documents which have been laid before them in support of the declaration which has been made to them, and the name of the ship on board of which they have been primarily transported from the place of origin into that of their residence.

(7.)

Decree against English Commerce, dated at Milan, December 17, 1807, and signed by the Emperor Napoleon; together with a Supplement by the French Minister of Marine.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Rhinish Confederation: — Observing the measures adopted by the British Government on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to neutral, friendly, or even powers the allies of England, are made liable, not only to be searched by English cruizers, but to be compulsorily detained in England, and to have a tax laid on them of so much per cent. on the cargo, to be regulated by the British Legislature. — Observing that by these acts the British Government denationalizes ships of every nation in Europe, that it is not competent for any government to detract from its own independence and rights, all the sovereigns of Europe having in trust the sovereignties and independence of the flag; that if, by an unpardonable weakness, and which, in the eyes of posterity

would be an indelible stain, such a tyranny was allowed to be established into principles, and consecrated by usage, the English would avail themselves of it to assert it as a right, as they have availed themselves of the tolerance of governments to establish the infamous principle, that the flag of a nation does not cover goods, and to give to their right of which infringes on the sovereignty of every state; we have decreed and do decree as follows:—Art. I. Every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, that shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or that shall have paid any tax whatsoever to the English Government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be denationalized, to have forfeited the protection of its king, and to have become English property.—Art. II. Whether the ships thus denationalized by the arbitrary measures of the English Government, enter into our ports, or those of our allies, or whether they fall into the hands of our ships of war, or of our privateers, they are declared to be good and lawful prizes.—Art. III. The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade, both by land and sea. Every ship, of whatever nation, or whatsoever the nature of its cargo so may be, that sails from the ports of England, or those of the English colonies, and of the countries occupied by English troops, and proceeding to England, or to the English colonies, or to countries occupied by English troops, is good and lawful prize, as contrary to the present decree; and may be captured by our ships of war or our privateers, and adjudged to the captor.—Art. IV. These measures, which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers, shall cease to have any effect with respect to all nations who shall have the firmness to compel the English Government to respect their flag. They shall continue to be rigorously in force as long as that Government does not return to the principle of the law of nations, which regu-

lates the relations of civilized states in a state of war. The provisions of the present decree shall be abrogated and null, in fact, as soon as the English abide again by the principles of the law of nations, which are also the principles of justice and of honour.—All our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON :
Printed by S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, and Fley,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

536
W3 P4
v.2

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Santa Barbara

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW.

AVAILABLE FOR
IRCULATION AFTER
DISPLAY PERIOD

1 6 1962

-8,'61(C2084s4)476

AA 000 240 582 7